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ESSAY COMPETITION

An anonymous donor offers, through the Mythic Society, Daly Memorial Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore City, a prize of Rs. 50 (fifty only) for the best essay in English on "The Evolution of the Kannada Drama". The existence of an indigenous drama in the Karnataka country, its development and its present condition as an histrionic art, with reference to authorities, if any, should be dealt with. The competition is open to all. The essay, which should be about twenty-five foolscap pages of typed or written matter on one side only, should be submitted to the General Secretary of the Mythic Society with a fee of Rs. 2, so as to reach him not later than the 15th May 1933. The award will be communicated to the successful competitor and will be announced in the first week of July 1933; and the prize will be given away at the Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society to be held about July 1933. The accepted essay will become the absolute property of the Mythic Society for all purposes.

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Vol. XXIII JULY, 1932 No. 1

SOUTH INDIAN TEMPLES

BY V. RAGHAVENDRA RAO, M.A.

I. Introduction

THE Government of India have published two works on the history of Indian architecture, "Chalukyan Architecture" by H. J. Cousens and "Pallava Architecture" by A. H. Longhurst which deserve more detailed treatment than is possible in a review.

From crude carvings on bones to that dream in marble translated in the Taj at Agra can be traced the instinct of man for art, which, with religion, goes hand in hand with the primitive needs of life. While the first traces of art in bygone ages found their expression in the attempt to meet the physical wants of the earliest man like shelter from weather, to-day it manifests itself in psychical expressions. The rude cubical hut is gradually refashioned to satisfy his expanding instinct for art, the square cell developing into a pyramidal ziggarat and the thatched, conical hut assuming the form of the well-known spiral towers of the North Indian temples or the stele of Naram Sen.

The art of a country reflects its social life. Architecture, particularly that of temples, is an important means for the

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manifestation of its spiritual longings. These edifices of stone or brick and mortar express them as much as do song or verse. Unlike the Egyptian art which exhibits intense love of immortality, and the Assyrio-Babylonian which is the outward expression of an imperialistic aggression and love of splendour, Indian art is a fervid longing after spiritual perfection and the realization of the infinite in the finite.

As in other respects, the earliest history of South Indian architecture is like that of the North and can be traced through the ages from the Adittanallur tombs or Pulney dolmens. A connected account, however, is not possible owing to dearth of materials.

The architectural contribution of India is not the sole legacy or product of the Dravidian genius as is assumed by some. In its evolution, Indian architecture, especially of its temples, has received its inspiration from the Vedic times. The Rishis of those hoary ages had a mental picture of the gods in clear anthropomorphic forms, even to the details of their apparel and weapons, their physical counterparts in the form of icons fashioned out of wood or stone are but their natural consequence. Mantras full of imagery attracted the populace to whom a formless God made no appeal. Yet it is curious that no mention is made in the Vedas of temples nor icons of gods and goddesses. No reference to the worship of images is found regarding Aryans as in the case of Babylonians and Egyptians. The Aryans stood round an altar of fire, and chanted prayers of moving devotion. The Atharva Veda gives us highest conceptions of the Absolute as well as magic, ritualism and common religious beliefs. Popular religious ideas presuppose some realistic, and visible objects of prayer and worship. Even the Vedic Aśvins, Rudras, Ādityas and Indra are clearly deified ones and their earthly counterparts could easily be made and housed under some crude thatched roofs. In the Epic and Sūtra periods numerous references to temples and tree and serpent worship can be traced. During this period, multiple shrines,—panchāyatana temples,—were a visible embodiment

of the syncretistic tendency of this period. In conformity with this conception Sūrya, Śiva, Vishnu, Lakshmi and Ganēśa are all now worshipped in a common shrine.

Close upon the epic period follow the Tantra and Yōga periods characterized by the use of symbols. The monotheistic tendency of the time resolved the triple forms and triune functions of Brahma, Vishnu and Śiva, as different manifestations of the primal Energy, the Śakti. This realization of unity in diversity accords well with the more antique symbolic worship of tree, serpent and linga where the tree stood for progress, evolution or creation; the serpent signified involution or decay; and the phallus represented the idea of stithi or equilibrium between birth and death. Similarly, the temples represent the five *kōśas* enveloping the soul. The scriptural Vyāhritis or worlds are represented by the sevenfold prākāras round the temple. Such ideas are at least as old as the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads and it may be permissible to believe that the Vedic Aryans must have built some kind of temples and thus contributed their own share to the mosaic of Indian temple architecture. This view is strengthened by the circumstance that the earliest temples in India are rathās in which Vedic gods like Sūrya, Uṣas and others are said to have driven drawn by horses or other animals.

The hemispherical "House of Fire" with a central chimney recently discovered in Malabar containing iron implements, pottery and grinding stones is the only vestige of the Vedic structure surviving in the South (*Vedic Antiquities*, p. 11, by G. J. Dubreuil). A similar semi-spheroid tomb-house is perhaps a Vedic structure, as noticed by Dr. Bloch, at Lauryan Nandangarh in Bihar (*A.S.R.*, 1906-07, p. 119). It cannot therefore be asserted that the origin of Hindu temples is to be traced to Buddhist influence. The stūpi or dome over the South Indian temples is but a relic of the Aryan influence in the South.

The primitive Dravidian or pre-Dravidian dolmen-temples of Kalyāndurg, Mudigallu and Rāyadurg in the

Anantapur District are rectangular in shape (*A.S.R.S.I.*, 1915–16) walled by three upright slabs on the sides and covered with another slab. They are placed on raised platforms formed by huge paving slabs. A dolmen was not originally a burial place and need not necessarily have been one, though some dolmens have been utilized as memorials for great warriors. The dolmen at Kalyāndurg is an un-ornamented, flat-roofed structure formed of four large smooth-surfaced slabs, containing a *linga* and *yoni* in the centre, with its walls resting on a small plinth of stone, the entire building facing east. A short distance from it is another, more advanced in type, with a maṇṭapa in addition, connected by a small passage, corresponding to the antarāla of later days, reminding one of the South Indian temples without their vimāna. From the simple North Indian tumulus and the South Indian square or oval cell have developed the complex temples of to-day. This manifestation of devotion in ritual and worship as evidenced in large-scale temple buildings has been systematized and crystallized in the Āgamas and Śilpaśāstras. Pūja or ritualism has been ascribed to the Dravidian influence, but Bhakti is as old as the Vedas. In the Rigveda for instance Varuṇa and other gods are appealed to as a father, a feeling which is echoed in the Bhagavadgīta. Pāṇinī addressed Krishna as Bhagavān. Temples of Vasudēva existed at least as early as the beginning of the second century B.C. and the worship of Vishnu and Śiva became dominant in the fourth century A.D.

The early structures were generally of wood, or brick and mortar and rarely of stone. The earliest buildings of wood have perished and traces of "brick and mortar period" are to be found in the old apsidal temples like the shrines at Guntapalli and Chezarla which indicate a natural though considerable advance. Their assembly halls together with the dolmen structures practically completed a temple building, which could accommodate the votaries in their daily worship. The addition of a roof placed on that of the original shrine constituted a simple temple structure as in the Lādkhān

temple of Aihole, a probable southern representative of the early vimāna-less Gupta temples.

II. Cave Temples

After tracing the evolution of temple architecture from Vedic tumuli, dolmen shrines and apsidal structures, let us proceed to cave temples. The earliest known cave excavation in the South comes from the Pāndyan country in the extreme South. The shallow caves of Kaḷugumalai, Madura District, formed by overhanging rocks, with smoothly chiselled beds and pillows for monks, with wooden facades, recall similar caverns in the Gridhrakuta Hill, near Gaya. The cave of Bhāja, similar to the Lōmas Rishi cave of Bihar, represents the earliest and oldest example of a full-fledged one, betraying traces of wooden influence in its sloping door jambs. Its bare, vaulted roof and plain walls are primitive in their finish, belonging perhaps to the third century B.C. The famous Chaitya cave at Karle marks a perfection of technique and points to the puritan simplicity of early Buddhism which was content to worship the Master as symbolized in the Tree of Wisdom and Serpent of Eternity. This Chaitya of the second century A.D., similar to the early Christian basilicas, consists of a central nave and two side aisles separated by fifteen pillars on each side, the hall terminating in an apse. The pillars placed on a high base, octagonal in shaft, are ornamented by capitals surmounted by two kneeling elephants, each bearing a man and a woman. The roof is semi-circular with wooden ribs; the dagoba at the end is a plain dome without any relief of the Wise One. The whole hall is lighted up by a great horse-shoe window, whose thick volume of light has the effect of deepening the mystery and religious atmosphere of the place.

The Chaitya cave No. XIX and the later cave XXVI denote the high water-mark of the cave architecture. Art in all its extravagance is displayed on their walls. Buddhism which once tabooed images, has now developed idolatry and ritualism. The Buddha is now a God surrounded by numerous attendants; his hall is filled with carved or relief

images of men, women and animals; the walls and ceiling are painted with the birth-stories of Gautama; the facades are carved with standing Arhants, like dvārapālas; and the portico and its pillars are covered with rich arabesque or foliage bands of different designs and shapes.

III. Structural Temples

As, about the fourth century of the Christian era, the simple and puritanical cave temples failed to appeal to popular imagination, the Śikharas, suggested by storeyed viharas as Fa Hien noted, came into prominence. While the Lādkhān temple at Aihole with its flat storey represents the first attempt of the Hindus, the Mālegitti Śivālaya and Badami is the oldest and the best preserved of Hindu Śikhara temples, whose style appears more primitive than that of the Seven Pagodas. Its moderate dimensions, massive parts, its one central hall divided into aisles by heavy, square pillars without bases all recall primitive Buddhist and Christian churches. Its modest Dravidian vimāna, the most ancient of its type, probably served as the model for the raths of Mahābalipuram.

Just about this time when Buddhism was passing from pure atheism into overwhelming idolatry, the Hindus evolved an architecture and sculpture of their own, inspired largely by the activities of their rivals. Between the earliest Buddhist caves of Aśoka and the Brāhmanical caves of Pitalkora and Udayagiri of the second century A.D., the difference was not very material. But the superb Elephanta caves of, perhaps, the fifth century A.D., fully brought out the marvellous inventive and artistic genius of the Brahmins. The Elephanta, with its sculptures and columns, struck a new note in the architecture of India, providing models for the Dhumnar Lena caves at Ellora and even farther south, for Mahabalipuram. It is a pillared hall of ninty-one feet square. Its massive pillars, finely fluted from about the middle of their height, surmounted by a heavy, cushion capital, and its bassi-relievi of graceful figures continued to influence for long the Hindu craftsmen of the South.

The oldest structural temples of the Deccan were built of brick such as the apsidal temple of Ter. After the rock excavations fell into disuse, blocks of stones were employed in building fresh temples as in the Mālegitti Śivālaya.

The apse-ended temple of Vishnu, known as the "Durga" temple at Aihole, with its northern type of Śikharas, its massive proportions, short, thick pillars with lotus medallions is another fifth century type—an adaptation in stone, by the Hindus, of the early brick-built Chaitya halls.

(1) Kadamba Style

At this stage, a new style called the Kadamba Style emerges into view, in the heart of the Karnataka. If the extant specimens are of Kadamba workmanship, a new chapter will have been added to the history of Indian architecture as it forges a fresh link in the long chain of Indian art. The Kadamba specimens have all an air of antiquity about them. Vimānas of moderate height, having pyramidal steps, narrow and marked with "toothlike indentations"; pierced windows, closed mantaps, short square pillars, and figures of "Sree" on the lintels form some of the prominent features of the Kadamba style of architecture, which preceded the Chalukyan art.

Excepting those at Bodh Gaya the earliest types of vimānas and śikharas are to be found in the vicinity of Pattadakal and Aihole. This adds weight to the view that the śikharas may have been indigenous to the Karnataka country.

(2) Pallava Style

This tendency to build stone temples with vimānas was continued and perpetuated in the South by the Simha Vishnu family of Pallavas. This period was prolific in temple building and denoted a blending of the Dravidian with the Aryan culture in the peninsular India. The Pallavas who ruled from the Perdore to the Pennar and held sway from Bezwada to Badami in the sixth century A.D., imported masons from the Andhra country to build their temples in the South.

The new era of temple construction, ushered in by Mahendravarman I falls into three main stages, *viz.*, (1) rock-cut temples, (2) monolithic free standing, rock-cut

structures, and (3) stone and brick temples. The caves excavated by Mahendravarman at Pallavaram, Dalavanur, Trichinopoly and Mahābalipuram show distinct Andhra influence in their composition.

In the brilliancy of his achievements Narasimhavarman surpassed his father and introduced from the Karnataka country a prominent feature of the South Indian architecture; *viz.*, vimānas and gopurams in his famous "raths". His "Varāha" and "Mahisha" mantaps mark a distinct advance on the style of his father. The octagonal pillars with bulbous capitals exhibit greater taste and indicate the influence of Elephanta. The famous "raths" of Mahābalipuram are a monument of his zeal and show the growth and development of Indian architecture from the simple hut-shaped temple of Durga (Draupadi's Rath) to the elaborately sculptured three-storeyed temple of Īśvara (*alias* Dharma Raja Rath). Those raths standing in a row illustrate the history of Indian architecture from the simple to the complex style.

Temples similar to the Draupadi Rath were probably the most common, showing the primitive type of a village shrine. The Arjuna Rath, the earliest two-storeyed vimāna temple, shows a greater advance even on the Mālegitti temple which was perhaps the model for the rath. The Dharma Rath is exactly similar in plan to the previous one, but has, in addition, a third storey and more sculptures. The barge-shaped Bhima Rath is a copy in stone of the pre-existing assembly halls of wooden structure. The Sahadeva Rath represents the slowly vanishing type of apsidal building. The Ganeśa Rath is the most finished and ornate of the whole group. Its oblong plan and two-storeyed waggon roof is the prototype of all South Indian gopurams.

Pallava architecture attained its full maturity during the reign of Narasimhavarman II Rajasimha. Under Rajasimha's patronage the simple vimāna shrines developed into a full-blown temple, comprising the garbhagriha with vimāna, the mantapa and gopura, all complete, built of stone, brick and mortar. The restraints of the monolithic structures of

previous days gave way to meet the growing demands of art and religion in which the natural ambitions of the artist and devotee found abundant expression in the newer temples of brick and stone. Thus, the old, crude, square shrine was now surmounted by a towering vimāna which lent a new dignity and grandeur to the innermost sanctuary; the sanctum was also surrounded by a passage (prākāra) for the worshipper to go round. A spacious mantap in front sheltered the devotees during their prayer against wind and weather. Later on, minor shrines of attendant deities were built against the external walls of the central shrine. The walls, the ceilings, the vimānas and the pillars are covered with relief and stucco figures to stimulate and exalt the pious devotion of the votaries. The Kailāsanātha temple of Kānchi is an excellent example of this latest phase of the Pallava style.

Unlike the modern temples, the Pallava shrines were profusely covered with reliefs and panels to illustrate the epics of Siva and Vishnu. The Sōmaskanda panel was a favourite motif for the interior of the early shrines. The sanctums, filled with good carvings, were well ventilated. Their relief-panels are remarkable for their great originality and freedom of execution. The illustrations of Trivikrama Avatar in the Varāha mantapa and Mahishāsuramardinī in the Mahisha mantapa are the finest examples of Pallava sculptures which were most probably inspired by similar reliefs of the Badami caves. The Sōmaskanda panel with its seated figure of Īśvara and Pārvati bears remarkable affinity to the sitting Nāgaraja of the Ajanta cave XIX. All these point to the Karnataka country as the inspiring genius of the Pallava temples and sculptures. Thus by the beginning of the ninth century A.D., the South Indian temples were perfect in their plan, design and execution, the later ones being merely developments in complexity and ornateness. In the later temples the central shrines are simple and plain, and the artist lavishes all his skill on the outer mantap. The gōpuram outgrows the vimānas in course of time, forming a conspicuous landmark.

(3) The Chalukyan Style

The Chalukyas of Badami started another era of temple architecture. They were greatly inspired by the Pallava temples of Kānchi. The Deccan offers the grand panorama of Indian art from its primitive to its highest stage.

The oldest stone-built temples in the Chalukyan country is the Mālegitti Śivālaya whose primitive, cave-like characteristic has already been noticed.

The temple of Kallēśvara at Kukkanur in the Nizam's Dominions marks the earliest transition towards the Chalukyan form, while conforming to the Pallava outline. The different storeys are here narrowed down. The cornices are reduced in size and broken up into projections and returns. A horse-shoe niche appears repeated along the central face of the tower, the distinguishing feature of the later Chalukyan vimānas. The dome over this vimāna is also " ribbed ", like the later ones, and the pillars inside are rounded, all indicating an orientation towards the Chalukyan variety.

In the Kāśīviśvesvara temple at Lakkundi near Gadag " the Chalukyan builders reached their high water-mark in decorative architecture. The mouldings are deeper and crisper; have more sparkling effect of light and shade. Bands and scrolls of lace-like carvings run up the jambs and across the lintels, some standing in high relief, and some perforated and almost detached by undercutting."

This shrine consists of a garbhagriha with a vimāna on it, a narrow antarāla, and a closed mantap with doors on two sides. The vimāna with its prominent central niches with towers of North-Indian type in the centre shows greater delicacy in workmanship and an advance in style and design. The pillars here appear as if rounded off on a lathe and their surfaces are given a high polish. Their mouldings and capitals resemble delicate silver or ivory workmanship.

The Chalukyas of Kalyan continued the work of their predecessors of Badami, with renewed vigour. The Muktīśvar temple of Chaudadampur is the earliest type of their building activities. Its deep, overhanging, double cornices,

central niches on the vimāna looking like a long vertical band and its amalaśri śikhara form a distinct advance on the older examples. The basements also are covered with panels of relief and filigree work which reached its zenith in the temples of the Hoysalas.

The great temple of Mahādēva at Ittagi in the Nizam's territory is "the most complete and highly finished of the existing Chalukyan temples". It has an open hall added in front of its covered mantapa. Its delicate filigree and scroll work, and varieties of lathe-turned pillars of deepest moulding, are marvels of craftsmanship. The ceilings of this temple are remarkable for their rich masses of arabesque foliage and makaras coming out from kīrtimukhas, all deeply undercut, hanging like a veritable forest. It is one of the finest temples of its class and is deservedly called Dēvālaya Chakravarti.

It is in the State of Mysore under the victorious Hoysalas that this Chalukyan style reached its perfection and even a degree of elaboration so as to earn for itself a new nomenclature, the Hoysala style.

The Hoysala temples, the well-known specimens of which are Belur, Halebid and Somanathapur, are placed on a terrace like those of the Kalachuryas of Tripuri to be viewed from a point of vantage. Triple and quadruple shrines become a new feature. The plan and vimāna are star-shaped. Love of fancy work and sculpture has become a passion. Those delicately wrought images display the same love of ornate beauty, though sometimes overdone. The fretted windows with their richest arabesque and geometrical patterns inset with small, delicate figurines are hard to excel, and beggar description. The deeply under-cut patterns and relief figures of the ceilings of these temples form another conspicuous feature of these Hoysala temples, extorting admiration for their skill and patience. As if to mark off their distinctive style from others, the Hoysalas placed the traditional figure of Sala striking into the tiger, in the forefront of their temple vimānas. And their claim for a style of their own was

not undeserved, considering their lavish patronage and prolific construction of temples in their extensive empire of Karnataka.

IV. Distinguishing Characters of South Indian Temples

After a rapid survey of the two leading varieties of the South Indian temples, their distinguishing characteristics may be mentioned. Indian types of architecture have been divided into Indo-Aryan, Chalukyan and Dravidian corresponding to their Sanskrit designations of the Nāgara, Vēsāra and Drāvida respectively. The principle of classification being mainly based on the shape of the vimāna, a square vimāna indicated the Nāgara, an octagonal the Drāvida and the circular the Vēsāra types. The Mahabodhi temple at Gaya is an excellent example of the Nāgara style, in vogue mostly in North India, in which the spire rises gradually without "steps"; the pyramid with octagonal dome is to be found in Mahābalipuram in South India, and the star-shaped, spherical-domed Chalukyan temples furnish illustrations of the Vēsāra structures.

The Nāgara type has not maintained its early model of Bodhgaya. The later North Indian temples rising in circular spires in the manner of an inverted datūra flower, surmounted by the Āmalaka and Kalaśa, exhibit a fondness for vertically inclined style of architecture, reminding us perhaps of reproduction in brick and mortar of the familiar bamboo hut in the stoneless plains of the North, if not the car of the Aryan warrior. The Dravidians, like the early Greeks, preferred horizontal lines and loved a rectangular or square structure over a similar base, their "trabeated" system being perhaps inspired and even helped by a plentiful supply of good masonry stones in South India. The suggestion by some, that the Ziggarats or the astronomical observatories of Babylon inspired the Dravidian temples, needs no elaborate refutation, as the gradual evolution of the Dravidian style can be traced with tolerable certainty and exactitude from Indian examples.

The shape and height of the vimāna were regulated by the nature of the deity within. Where the image is standing

the roof over the shrine is of vertical or spiral type. Where it is in a sitting posture, the roof is flat or domical or a combination of both and where it is recumbent the vimāna is a low, vaulted roof like the Bhima rath at Mahābalipuram.

The Dravidian style prevails throughout Southern India including the Madras Presidency, the Chalukyan is chiefly found in the Southern Maratha country, the western parts of the Hyderabad State and in Mysore, in the last of which a particular development and variety of this style has been appropriately designated the Hoysala. The so-called Chalukyan style of the Mysore country, where the best specimens of this art are found in abundance, has very few temples answering to this description as elsewhere. In the finesse and details of execution, the Chalukyan temples described by Cousens differ from Mysore temples of the Hoysala type. Rev. Heras would trace the Hoysala style to its Kadamba predecessor, and not to the Chalukyans directly. Hence the Hoysalas deserve a niche of their own in the fane of Indian architecture.

The Dravidian temples have extensive pillared halls whereas the North Indian temples have seldom more than a moderate sized mantapa. The Chalukyans tried to retain the characteristics of both. Yet their halls do not approach the Dravidian mantaps either in their extent or grandeur.

The distinguishing features of the Dravidian and Chalukyan styles may be briefly noticed. The Chalukyan type though built upon the earlier Pallava models, has developed an individuality and beauty of its own, and has won for itself unstinted encomiums. The śikhara forms the true, crucial basis of distinction between the two styles. The Pallava or the Dravidian vimāna is stepped, pyramidal and barrel-vaulted whereas the fully developed Chalukyan vimānas are curvilinear like the Northern śikhars. The Chalukyans departed from the Dravidian models by reducing the height of the steps of the vimāna, adding a niche to its central face at every stage, so that in course of time, the vertical disposition of the niches assumed the graceful shape of a band from the top to

the bottom. These towers also were covered with a "profusion of ornamental details," rarely to be found in the Dravidian models.

The barrel-roofed Dravidian gopuram, taller than even the vimāna, is a conspicuous landmark in the country, while the Chalukyan temples have only a modest vimāna over the sanctum, and hence, they are less imposing from distant view.

Brick, mortar and colour have been freely employed in the construction of the Dravidian shrines, but the Chalukyan buildings have been raised without any cementing material and therefore the pillars are short and the roofing is low.

The main beauty and forte of the Chalukyan temples lie in their interior pillars and ceilings. Those exquisite carvings of figures and floral designs hanging from the bays of the inner roof are a wonder and a beauty not excelled by any other temple in India or the world.

The pillars of the Chalukyan temples form quite a charming feature of their own. They are generally massive, circular, richly carved and brilliantly polished. They are so finely moulded, "undercut" and burnished, that they look like wood turned on a lathe. The Dravidian pillars are generally square or octagonal. The early Dravidian or Pallava pillars were generally rounded or fluted from the middle of the shaft up to its cushion capital, with a flat abacus, the whole being supported by a couchant lion. In later Chola and Vijayanagar days, the lion motif drops out from the pillar, which now has an octagonal shaft with a square base and an ornamental capital with hanging lotus-bud ends.

The Dravidian temples of later days were built over extensive areas, while the temples of the Chalukyans occupy quite a small space. Besides, the latter structures were generally placed on raised platforms so that their plan, construction and delicate workmanship could be viewed from the best vantage ground. Kānchi and Somanathpur respectively offer good examples of the two different styles of architecture,

Pierced windows and panels of delicate fretwork between pilasters constitute another remarkable feature of the Chalukyan and Hoysala styles. The elementary window patterns of the early Dravidian temples of Badami are elaborated in later examples of Belur into variegated patterns of joyous and fanciful designs, hard to excel, and a marvel of human skill and imagination. The Dravidian shrines are generally without any windows, the artist lavishing his skill and devotion on the open multi-pillared mantaps as at Vellore, Srirangam, or Madura.

In the field of sculpture the Chalukyan artist stands supreme and unrivalled; while the Chalukyan Belur temples are veritable pantheons of gods, and the delicately chiselled images standing under a canopy of scroll-work of the finest skill and craftsmanship are without a parallel. The Dravidian figures are comparatively less ornamented and the sculptors seem satisfied with broad general effects, instead of attending to the minutiæ.

V. Conclusion

From the earliest traces of temples and temple building in the primitive dolmens, cubical cells, caves of single shrines, to that glory of Hoysala architecture, the Somanathpur temple has been sketched the progress of art in India south of the Perdore (R. Krishna). In the earlier examples, shelter from wind and rain and a place to ponder over the divinity were perhaps provided for. In the latest development of that art is seen profusely illustrated the alpha and omega of architectural beauty and design, executed with a marvellous exuberance of fancy and imagination, unrivalled in the world. For intellectual expression and wealth and beauty of workmanship and for affording opportunities for light and shade, these specimens offer a model of the highest art in the world. The rathas of Mahābalipuram, the Hoysala temples of Mysore, the caves of Karle and Elephanta, the Dravidian temples of Kānchi and Tanjore will stand for ever as monuments of art and industry even in the placid East.

SRĪ VIDYĀ

[Knowledge that leads to Moksha]

By K. Narayanaswami Iyer

I. Introduction

Desire after सुख and its attainment by riddance of दुःख are man's inheritance. The means for their achievement—physical, moral, mental—do not secure perfect bliss to man and he must, therefore, turn to the spiritual. For when the individual self is enabled to respond, in any way, to the universal soul of sat-chit-ānanda, then man experiences a bliss incomparable to anything that can be found in this mundane world. One such is Śrī Vidyā, the highest form of Śakti worship by which Agastya with his consort Lōpāmudra, Durvāsa, Śrī Śankarāchārya and his guru Gaudapādāchārya and others attained perfect bliss. The following pages contain a brief exposition of Śrī Vidyā as found in the Vēdas and various Tantra and Mantra Śāstras. Many Riks can be quoted in support, such as:—

(१) इळा सरस्वती मही तिस्रोदेवीर्मयो भुवः ॥ बर्हिः सीदन्त्वस्त्रिधः ॥

(२) इहेन्द्राणीमुपह्वये वरुणानीं स्वस्तये ॥ अग्नायीं सोमपीतये ॥

There is a school of opinion that regards Śakti worship as un-Hindu, if not un-Aryan, fully ignoring that the upāsana of Sandhya and Gāyatrī prescribed by the Vēdas and Śāstras and religiously observed by the Brahmins and other high castes is nothing but Śakti worship. As the great Rishi Viśvāmitra, the seer of Gāyatrī Mantra, says, all Brahmins are Śāktas:—

सर्वे शाक्ता द्विजातीनां न शैवा न च वैष्णवाः ।
ब्रह्मविद्यामुपासीत गायत्रीं वेदमातरम् ॥

Of the several systems of Śakti worship in vogue two of them, Samayāchāra and the Kaulāchāra, are the most prominent and Śāstraic. If some Śāktas have resorted to objectionable methods of worship, that is attributable to

their ignorance or misunderstanding of the science of Śrī Vidyā and not to any fault in the science itself.

As the great Kaula Śrī Śankarānanda beautifully put it:—

या विद्या शिवकेशवादिजननी या वै जगन्मोहिनी ।
या ब्रह्मादिपिपीलिकान्तजगदानन्दैकसंदायिनी ॥
या पञ्चप्रणवद्विरेफनळिनी या चित्कळामालिनी ।
सा पायात् वरदेवता भगवती श्रीराजराजेश्वरी ॥

II. Sri Vidya

Śrī Vidyā means Śuddhavidyā and comprises the theoretical and practical sides of Yōga by which the Jīvātma is enabled to merge itself in Paramātma. Śrī Vidyā concerns itself with Saguṇa Brahma and leaves Nirguṇa Brahma severely alone. For the upāsana of Nirguṇa Brahma is almost impossible for mortals. Bhagavān Śrī Krishṇa in his immortal Gīta endorses this opinion as follows:—

क्लेशोऽधिकतरस्तेषामव्यक्तासक्तचेतसां ।
अव्यक्ता हि गतिर्दुःखं देहवद्भिरवाप्यते ॥

Śiva as Para-Brahma is Śiva-Śakti. In her static aspect, she is Chidrūpiṇī and in her kinetic aspect, she is Māyā-Śakti, acting through her three-fold powers—Kriyā, Icchā and Jnāna. As Śaktitrayarūpāḍhyā she is responsible for Sriṣṭi, Sthiti and Praḷaya.

There is only one form both for Brahmāṇḍa and Pinḍāṇḍa. The Mahattattva of Macrocosm or Māyā-Śakti is identified with Mind in the Microcosm. As Māya, with its incomprehensible power, creates the Universe out of nothing so does Mind by its incomprehensible power of imagination create both the moral and phenomenal world. Māya is illusory; so is Mind. Māya possesses the three attributes of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas; Mind also possesses the self-same qualities and has three corresponding vrittis, *viz.*, Buddhi, Chitta and Ahaṅkāra. Both Māya and Mind necessarily possess the power of Vikshēpa and Āvaraṇa. Yōga, the union of Jīvātma with Paramātma, is attained by controlling Māya in the Universe or Mind in the Man, as is

well explained in Patañjali's famous Yōga Sūtra, *viz.*, Yōgaśchittavritti nirōdhah.

III. Process of Evolution according to Kamakala Vidya.

From Sakala Śiva (Śiva-tattva)—Sat-Chit-Ānanda—issued Śakti (Śakti-tattva); from the latter came Nāda (Sadakya-tattva) and from Nāda evolved Bindu (Īśvara-tattva) which, to distinguish it from the Bindu that follows, is called the Parābindu (Supreme Bindu). This Parābindu (whose substance is Supreme Śakti) divides itself into three and appears under a three-fold aspect. There are thus three Bindus—Kārya in contradistinction to Kāraṇa, Parābindu. Nāda is their Śiva-Śakti, that is, their mutual interaction or Yōga. The tribindu is parā, sūkshma, sthūla. Nāda is the union of these two in creation. It is by this division of Śiva and Śakti that there arises sriṣṭi-kalpana. The causal Bindu is from the Śakti aspect as undifferentiated Śakti with all powers. From the Prakriti aspect, it is triguṇamayī mūlaprakritī. From the Dēvatā aspect, it is Śānta.

The three Bindus separately indicate the operation of the three powers of Kriyā, Icchā and Jnāna and the three guṇas (Tamas, Rajas and Sattva). They indicate the manifestation of the three Dēvīs (Vāma, Jyēṣṭha and Raudrī) and of the three Dēvatas (Brahma, Viṣṇu and Rudra). Raudrī issued from Bindu, Jyēṣṭha from Nāda and Vāma from Bīja and from these came Rudra, Viṣṇu and Brahma which are in the nature of Jnāna, Icchā and Kriyā or the Sun, the Moon and the Fire respectively.

In the Sun, there are Fire and Moon and it is known as Miśra Bindu and, as such, is not different from Paramaśiva and is Kāmakala (the root of all Mantra). Sōma is Śiva Bindu and is white (Sita). Agni is Śakti Bindu and is red (Śōṇi). Sūrya is a mixture of these two, Fire and Moon. On the physical or the material plane, the white (Sita) Bindu assumes the form of Śukla and the red Bindu that of Ṣōṇita. Mahābindu is the state before manifestation of Prakriti. All these Bindus—constituting Kāmakalā—are Śaktis, though in one

Śakti may predominate and in another Śiva. There is no Śiva without Śakti and no Śakti without Śiva, *vide* Tantrāloka :—

न शिवः शक्तिरहितः । न शक्तिः शिववर्जिता ॥

In the one Śiva-Śakti, there is union—the thrill of which is Nāda whence Mahābindu is born and becomes three-fold.

The triad of Kāmakalā is the same as the Rig-Vēdic triad of Agni as the trinity of Devās, *viz.*, Sun, Wind and Fire or Sun, Indra and Fire, since both Vāyu and Indra represent the Vidyut aspect of Agni or as the trinity of Dēvīs as Iḷā, Sarasvatī and Mahī or Indrāṇī, Vāruṇī and Agnāyī. The division of the sacrificial fire into three and Agni being besought to bring the gods and seat himself in the three receptacles of fire is another instance to the point. Even the seven flames or tongues of Agni are identified as sapta śaktis *viz.*, Kālī, Karālī, Manōjavā, Sulōhitā, Sudhūmravarṇā, Sphulinginī and Viśvaruchi.

IV. The Origin and Action of Bindus

The origin and action of these Bindus is as follows :—

Śiva in the form of Prakāśa enters into Śakti in the form of Vimarśa or Sphūrti and assumes the form of a Bindu or drop. Śakti similarly enters into Śiva whereupon the Bindu develops and there arises out of it the female-element called Nāda. These two—Bindu and Nāda—being united become one compound Bindu and that substance representing the affinity between the male and the female energies is called Kāma. The two drops, white representing the male element and the red representing the female element, together form the Kalā. These three again—the compound Bindu and the white and red drops—form one substance called Kāmakalā.

V. Creation of Substances and Words expressing Them

Thus there are four powers : (1) the original Bindu representing the material of which the world is made ; (2) Nāda or sound upon which depends the naming of the substances arising from the development of the Bindu. Between (1) and (2) there is intense love but no creation *per se* results therefrom, as they only contain the materials of things and

speech. Therefore, (3) a productive energy is associated with them by the white male drop which, however, by itself cannot produce. And (4) by the red female drop, which is fecundated by the male drop, that is when all these four principles unite into one substance (Kāmakalā) the whole creation of words and the things expressed by them proceeds.

VI. Philosophical Aspect of Kamakala

The first is the transcendent stage of the mingling of "अहम्" and "इदम्" in which these elements of experience are, as such, not perceived. The second is the intermediate stage of pure form of experience between the first and the last in which both the "Aham" and "Idam" are experienced as part of self. The third is the state of manifestation proper, where there is a complete cleavage between the "Aham" and the "Idam" in which an outer object is presented to the consciousness of the knower. This last stage is itself two-fold. In the one, Purusha experiences a homogeneous universe though different from himself as Prakriti. In the other, Prakriti is split up into its vikritis which are mind and matter and the multitudinous beings composing the Universe.

In this view, Śakti as Prakriti first evolves mind (Buddhi, Ahaṅkāra and Chitta) and then Bhūta of five-fold tattvas (ether, air, fire, water and earth) from the supersensible generals (tanmātras) of sense-particulars (indriyās). When Śakti has entered the last and grossest tattva (earth) there is nothing further to do and she rests in her last emanation of the earth principle.

VII. The Importance of Sabda in Sri Vidya Upasana

Kāmakalā is also described as Śabda-Brahman and the whole Universe is said to proceed in the form of Śabda or sound. In the Brāhmaṇas Vāc (Logos) was God. In Rig-Vēda, Vāc was invoked as an active female divine power showing grace to mortals.* The first Bhāva of Śabda, in its form of thought, is Parā; when thought is perceived, it is called Paśyantī; the

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* For an interpretation of the famous mantra on Śabda-Brahman, *viz.*, "Chatvāri śringāh, trayōsya pādāh", etc., see Patañjali's and Kayyata's commentary on Mahābhāshya.

uttering sound becomes Madhyamā and when uttered, it is called Vaikharī. Desire to think and speak is Icchā Śakti; while an effort towards it is Kriyā Śakti and thinking and knowing is Jnāna Śakti.

Śiva is symbolically identified with the letter "अ" and Śakti with "ह"—the first and last letters of the Sanskrit Alphabet. This ह is called Ardha Kalā or half part and hence the female element ह is called Hārdhakalā—the half part in the shape of the letter ह. This ह, the half part together with अ (which stands for Śiva) is a symbolic representation of Kāmakalā, the mūla of mantra or vidyā. अ and ह containing between them all letters and through them all the words, *i.e.*, the whole speech, Śakti is called Parā, the first of the four stages of speech as all words which express things proceed from her. She is, therefore, called अहं or Ego, all souls being but her forms.

Kāmakalā is graphically described as a triangle. Supreme tattva is formed by three Bindus (expressed by lines) called Chandra, Sūrya and Vahni Bindus or Prakāśa, Vimarśa and Miśra Bindus. This triangular Kāmakalā is known as हंसः, the embodiment of Purusha and Prakriti. Purusha Bindu is represented by ह at the apex of the triangle and the other two Prakriti Bindus by स and : (visarga). Śabda-Brahman, with its three-fold aspect and energies, is thus represented as a yōnīpīṭha (inverted triangle) manifesting Icchā, Kriyā and Jnāna Śaktis. The lines of the triangle emanating from the three Bindus are formed by 48 letters—the 16 vowels beginning with अ forming one line, the 16 consonants beginning with क comprising another line and 16 more consonants beginning with थ constituting the third line. Hence the triangle is called अकथ triangle. Bindu is Parāśakti and its manifestations are Bindu, Nāḍa and Bīja—Sun, Moon and Fire. हं is Purusha, सः is Prakriti, हंसः is union of male and female, *i.e.*, the Universe.

The fifty letters of the alphabet are said to be in the six chakras of the body and these letters multiplied by twenty are

said to be in Sahasrāra. Śabda springs from the Mūlādhāra and passing through the stages of Parā, Paśyantī and Madhyamā emerges from the mouth in Vaikharī form. Cosmic Śakti (Mahākuṇḍalinī) is samaṣṭi in relation to which Kuṇḍalinī in particular bodies is vyaṣṭi. Kuṇḍalinīyōga is effected by Shatchakrabhēda, *i.e.*, piercing through the six chakras. These six chakras and the Sahasrāra are the esoteric presentment of the sapta-lōkas of the exoteric Universe. For Dēvī in Brahmāṇḍa has her counterpart in Piṇḍāṇḍa as Kuṇḍalinī. So it is said :—

परा वाङ्मूलचक्रस्था पश्यन्ती नाभिसंस्थिता ।
हृदिस्था मध्यमा ज्ञेया वैखरी कण्ठदेशिगा ॥

VIII. Mantra or Mystic Syllables

From the foregoing, it will be seen that śabda plays an important part in Śrī Vidyā and particular letters of the alphabet being connected with particular energies in Brahmāṇḍa and Pinḍāṇḍa have an equally important significance. Mantras have, therefore, been composed to promote or inhibit different kinds of energy. In fact, Prāna which manifests itself in the animal body as breath through inspiration and expiration is said to be performing the Ajapa mantra of हंसः, expiration uttering "हं" and inspiration "सः". The former हं represents Śiva or male principle and the latter सः Śakti or female principle, the purusha principle of prāṇa throwing out, and the prakriti principle drawing in.

IX. Sri Vidya Upasana

The upāsana of Śrī Vidyā is, therefore, to effectively control the Māya or Mind, as the potentiality of both is the same. For, man is constantly acting upon man both by silent and spoken word; and he so acts and creates equally directly and powerfully on the rest of nature. The use of mantra is only a conscious utilization of this secret power of the word. In ourselves, it creates subjective states, attuning our psychical being and revealing knowledge and faculties latent in us. The word has its seed sounds (bījas) carrying in them principles of things and a rhythm which builds the

world-law of arrangement and harmony. Of the methods adopted for the purpose, the following deserve mention :—

(*a*) *Tripurasundarī Pūja.*—Kāmakalā is personified and worshipped as Tripurasundarī as described by Munīndra Durvāsa, the great Śrī Vidyā Āchārya :—

आद्यैरग्निरवीन्दुबिंबनिलयैरंबत्रिलिंगात्मभिः ।
मिश्रा रक्तसितप्रभैरनुपमैर्युष्मत्प्रदैस्तैस्त्रिभिः ॥
स्वात्मोत्पादितकाललोकनिगमावस्थामरादत्रयैः ।
उद्भूतं त्रिपुरेतिनामकलयेद्यस्ते स धन्यो बुधः ॥

(*b*) *Sandhyā-Vandana.*—The three Bindus of Kāmakalā representing the three powers of Icchā, Jnāna and Kriyā are personified as three Dēvīs, Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā and Raudrī or Gāyatrī, Sāvitrī and Sarasvatī and are worshipped as the three Sandhyas—morning, afternoon and evening—which signify the three stages of creation, maintenance and destruction. Dēvī is fittingly called Kāla-traya-svarūpāḍhyā and Trisandhyā. It is therefore said :—

यदह्नात् कुरुते पापं तदह्नात् प्रतिमुच्यते ।
यद्रात्र्यात् कुरुते पापं तद्रात्र्यात् प्रतिमुच्यते ।
सर्ववर्णे महादेवि सन्ध्याविद्ये सरस्वति ॥

The Vēdas say that Agni becomes Mitra when rising in the morning; becomes Savitṛ when he traverses the air; becomes Indra when he iilumines the sky at midday and becomes Varuṇa in the evening. Agni is, therefore, to be honoured three times a day. Śrī Śankarāchārya says :—

अहस्सूते सव्यं तव नयनमर्कात्मकतया ।
त्रियामांवा मन्ते सृजति रजनीनायकतया ॥
तृतीये दृष्टिर्या दरदळितहेमाम्बुजरुचिः ।
समाधत्ते सन्ध्यां दिवसनिशयोरन्तरचरीं ॥

(c) *Gāyatrī Japa.*—It is called Gāyatrī as it saves him who sings it. It has three Pādās corresponding to the three Bindus or Śaktis. It has a fourth pāda answering to Mahābindu but it is used only by adepts. There is no difference between Mantra and Vidya except that while the former term is used in reference to male deities, the latter term

is employed with reference to female deities. Gāyatrī is invited thus :—

आयातु वरदा देवी अक्षरं ब्रह्मसम्मितं ।
गायत्रीं छन्दसां माता इदं ब्रह्म जुषस्व नः ॥

In the Brāhmaṇās, Gāyatrī is said to be the mystical name of Agni which carries off the celestial Soma, *i.e.*, which secures immortality. Sage Durvāsa describes Gāyatrī thus :—

गायत्री सशिरस्तुरीयसहिता सज्यामयात्यागमैः ।
आख्याता त्रिपुरे त्वमेव महतां शर्मप्रदां कर्मणां ॥
तत्तद्दर्शनमुख्यशक्तिरपि च त्वं ब्रह्मा कर्मेश्वरः ।
कर्ताहंः पुरुषो हरिश्च सविता बुद्धिश्शिवस्त्वं गुरुः ॥

(*d*) *Upāsana of Pañchadaśī or Shōdaśī Mantra.*—Mantra is so called because it saves by being meditated upon. Pañchadaśī has three khandas or divisions corresponding to the Sun, Moon and Fire Bindus. Shōḍaśi, likewise, contains three kūṭas but also has a fourth corresponding to the Mahābindu. Therefore, Dēvī called Mantriṇī is personified as formed of the three kūtas. Lalitāsahasranāma gives such a presentation :—

श्रीमद्वाग्भवकूटैकस्वरूपमुखपङ्कजा ।
कण्ठादधःकटिपर्यन्तमध्यमकूटस्वरूपिणी ।
शक्तिकूटैकतापन्नकाव्य अधोभागधारिणी ॥

(*e*) *Srī Chakra Pūja.*—Śrī Chakra, which is a Yantra (graphic representation) of both Brahmāṇḍa and Piṇḍāṇḍa made up of the three Bindus, is described as the combination of nine triangles. Each triangle is a symbol of Prakriti the three sides representing the three Bindus of Sun, Moon and Fire or the three Śaktis of Jnāna, Icchā and Kriyā. Munīndra Durvāsa describes the Śrī Chakra as follows : —

श्रीचक्रं श्रुतिमूलकोश इति ते संसारचक्रात्मकं ।
विख्यातं तदधिष्ठाताक्षरशिवज्योतिर्मयं सर्वतः ॥
एतन्मन्त्रमयात्मिकाभिररुणां श्रीसुन्दरीभिर्वृतं ।
मध्ये बैन्दवसिंहपीठललिते त्वं ब्रह्मविद्या शिवे ॥

(*f*) *Kuṇḍalinī Yōga.*—Jagadambā has been called Dēhastha-shaṭchakradēvī or Kuṇḍalinī. The rousing of the Kuṇḍalinī

and making it pierce the six chakras in the body is a Laya Yōga or a method of involution whereby one gets control of Çhittavrittis. The identification of Kuṇḍalinī with Kāmakalā and how by her upāsana one gets immortality is beautifully portrayed by Śrī Śankarāchārya in his Soundarya Laharī as follows :—

तटिल्लेखातन्वीं तपनशशिवैश्वानरमयां ।
निषण्णां षण्णामप्युपरिकमलानां तव कलां ॥
महापद्माटव्यां मृदितमलमायेन मनसा ।
महान्तः पश्यन्तः दधति परमाह्लाद लहरी ॥

X. Conclusion

The guṇāśrita upāsana of Jagajjananī whose tāṇḍava (dance) is Prapañchasrishṭyunmukha (creative of world) is, therefore, far easier than the guṇavarjita upāsana of Śiva whose tāṇḍava is Prapañchasamhāraka (destructive of world). The upāsana-kramās of Śrī Vidyā will form the subject-matter of the succeeding articles. The following prayer in Śrīmat Tripurasundarī Vēdapādastava of Śrī Śankarāchārya may be appropriately recited as a fitting close to this essay :—

यत्रैव यत्रैव मनो मदीयं तत्रैव तत्रैव तव स्वरूपम् ।
यत्रैव यत्रैव शिरो मदीयम् तत्रैव तत्रैव पादद्वयं ते ॥

CHIKKADEVARĀJA WAḌEYAR OF MYSORE AND HIS SUCCESSORS (1673-1761)

BY N. SUBBA RAU, M.A.

THE political history of Mysore during the period 1673-1761 is known to readers from Wilks' *History* and other works. Yet, for a proper appreciation of the history of this period, it is necessary to treat the subject afresh with special reference to the original data available.

I. The Background of Chikkadevaraja's Reign

It has been shown[1] that Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar (1673-1704), son of Doḍḍa Devarāja Waḍeyar by Amritāmbā, was the *nephew* and *successor* of *Devarāja Waḍeyar* (younger brother of Doḍḍa Devarāja), the actual ruler of Mysore after Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Waḍeyar I. It has also been pointed out that there was some difficulty connected with Chikkadevarāja's accession to the throne consequent on the intricate succession question which arose during the last year of Kanṭhīrava's reign. Chikkadevarāja not only over-awed opposition but also established himself as the foremost independent prince in the Karnāṭaka country [*cf.* his inscriptions[2]]. This position was the outcome of two causes: firstly, the extinction of the imperial sway of the Āravīḍu dynasty of Vijayanagara; secondly, the gradual loosening of the hold of the Muhammadans on South India in general and Mysore in particular, owing to the rise of the Marāṭhas on the one hand and the pressure of the Moghuls on the other. Although much of the ground for the political advancement of Mysore had been prepared by Devarāja Waḍeyar, it is certain that Chikkadevarāja took full advantage of the favourable atmosphere in the country at the time of his accession, not only to deal effectively with the turbulent

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[1] *Vide Devarāja Waḍeyar of Mysore* (1659-73), in the *Half-Yearly Journal of the Mysore University*, Vol. III (i).

[2] *M.A.R.*, 1920, p. 40; 1911-12, pp. 56-7; *E.C.*, XII, Kg. 7 etc.

elements in all directions but also to plan earnestly and work out systematically the reorganization and adoption of measures of administration which has made him famous in history. Judged from this standpoint, the inauguration of Chikkadevarāja's rule is very significant.

II. Chikkadevaraja and his Contemporaries

Chikkadevarāja was a contemporary of the Marāṭhas, the Deccani Muhammadans, the Moghul Emperor (Aurangzebe), the Nāyaks of Madura and numerous chieftains or Pallegars of the Karnāṭaka country. Of his relations with these powers, we have some accounts in literary, epigraphical and other records. In his conquests he was considerably helped by his Commanders-in-Chief, Komārayya and Doḍḍayya who, according to a manuscript,[1] 'were sincere supporters and establishers of the Royal House'.

A copperplate inscription[2] dated November 22, 1674, has the following: "When the heroic Chikkadevarāja went

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[1] *Mysūru Rājara Charitre,* by Venkaṭaramaṇayya.

[2] *M.A.R.*, 1911-12, pp. 56-7; for the text, see *Ep. Car.*, Mysore Dt., Suppl. Vol.

In view of the importance of this inscription historically, it is noticed here in some detail :—

(*i*) *Date, Language, Author, etc.:* The inscription, in 9 plates, is dated Ānanda-Mārgasira ba. 3, corresponding to November 22, 1674. It is mainly Sanskrit, only the concluding portion being Kannaḍa. The characters are Nāgari and Kanarese. Rāmāyaṇam Tirumalārya was the author of this inscription which records the grant to Brahmins of 16 villages divided into 80 Vrittis in the Mādalanāḍu in the Karnāṭaka country. The information relating to the contemporary event is incidentally given while describing the king's qualities, achievements, titles, etc. The record is impressed with the figure of a Boar (Varāha mudrā), the crest of the Mysore Waḍeyar dynasty; and is authenticated by the King's signature. The genuineness of the document is beyond doubt.

(*ii*) *Relevant passages:*

(*a*) Plate No. 3 (A): (Sanskrit)

........*Marāṭha varshman dādoji jaitaji mukham nihanti saharischikadeva mūrtih* | *Śambustambhita vikramah kutupsāho* S *sou hatāśo haṭādikkeribasavopi dhikkṛtimagādekoji rekōjani* | *dādoji bhidi jaitaji jaśavatossarvāṅganāsāchhidi* | *Śrī Vīra Chikadevarājanṛpato yuddhāya baddhādare* ||

forth for war, Śambu lost his valour, Kutub Shah was disappointed, Ikkeri Basava was put to scorn, Ēkōji was left alone, the Marāṭha warriors with Dādoji and Jaitāji were slain, and Jaśavant sustained loss of nose and limbs. Chikkadevarāja had the following among other titles: 'Emperor of Karnāṭaka', 'Champion over the enemies, the prominent and mighty Maraṭha leaders such as Jaitāji, Dādoji, Haraji, Śambuji, Śahaji, Ēkōji and Śivāji', 'Unparallelled hero'."

(*b*) The important titles, including the names of the Marāṭha leaders, occur in a passage, in plate 9 (A), not hitherto noticed :

........*Karnāṭaka chakravarti*....*jayitaji dādōji haraji śambuji sāhaji ēkōji śivāji pramukha prabala mahārāshṭra bhūpāla jāla ripu vijaya kalīla durdānta sāmanta makuṭa maṇi*....*apratimavīra narapati chikkadevarāja waḍeyaravaru*....

(*iii*) *Note*: Mysore, under Chikkadevarāja, began her aggressions against Ikkeri in 1674, and it is possible while doing so came into contact for the first time with a portion of the Marāṭha and Golkoṇḍa forces on the territorial borders of their ally—Ikkeri. It may be doubted whether all the persons mentioned in these passages were present on the occasion, but it would be clear that Chikkadevarāja had a knowledge of them all as early as 1674. *Śambu*: The reference here is to Sāmbāji, son of Śivāji. The prominence given to Sāmbāji in passage (*a*) would indicate that he led a portion of the Marāṭha forces in *Canara* in 1674, Śivāji being otherwise engaged in the Deccan (during July-October 1674). *Kutub Shah*: The ruler of Golkoṇḍa. The mention of this name would suggest that already in 1674 he was allied with Śivāji. According to Wilks (I. p. 80) Śivāji exacted a contribution of three lakhs of pagodās from Golkoṇḍa concluding an alliance between him and Bijāpūr and Golkoṇḍa against the Moghuls in 1672. Golkoṇḍa was an ally of Ikkeri also, a buffer State in those days. A new alliance between Śivāji and Golkoṇḍa and Bijāpūr for the conquest of the Karnāṭaka was formed in 1677. It was probably when the old alliance still continued that in 1674 the Marāṭhas, Golkoṇḍa and Ikkeri came into contact with the Mysore army on the borders of Ikkeri. *Ikkeri Basava*: The circumstance of Ikkeri or Bednur forming the starting point of Śivāji's contemplated new kingdom (Kincaid and Parasnis: *Marāṭhas*, I, p. 253) would indicate that its ruler Basappa Nāyaka (Basava), countenanced such an idea, being the hereditary enemy of Mysore. According to *Keḷadi Nripa Vijayam*, there was friendship between Ikkeri and the house of Śivāji. By Chikkadevarāja's opposition it was natural that Basappa 'was put to scorn'. *Ēkōji* (Venkoji): Half-brother of Śivāji. The allies seem to have been prevented from joining Ēkōji who retired to Bangalore. Hence the expression 'was left alone'. In 1675 Ēkōji took Tanjore from *Alagiri* (*vide History of the Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 167). *Dādōji*, *Jaitāji* (also called *Dādōji Kākada* and *Jaitājighāt* in literary works), *Jaśavant* (Yaśvant Rao), Marāṭha generals; cutting off noses was a feature of warfare in the Mysore army, though, here, it is somewhat exaggerated. We have

This information is neither corroborated nor contradicted elsewhere. Details as to the date when, and the place where, the Mysore army fought against the Marāṭhas, Muhammadans and the Nāyaka of Ikkeri in 1674 are not to be found in this inscription. However, we know[1] that in 1674 the Mysore army under Daḷavoy Komārayya was in Ikkeri. We can thus infer that as early as 1674 Chikkadevarāja had a knowledge of the Marāṭha leaders of the time including Śivāji and that the Mysore army on the borders of Ikkeri opposed a portion of the forces of the Marāṭhas, Golkoṇḍa and Ikkeri (probably during the monsoon season—July to October) causing some loss of life among the enemies. The event seems to have been very important from the point of view of Mysore since Chikkadevarāja was the foremost ruler in the Kanarese country. Though in his title Chikkadevarāja claims victory over Śivāji, it is clear that he did not actually come into contact with him since the latter was at that time in the Deccan, engaged as he was against Bahadur Khan, the Moghul General.[2] Yet as a possible rival to Śivāji in respect of his design[3] 'to win a new kingdom which would stretch right across South India from Bednore to Tanjore,' Chikkadevarāja assumed the titles, *Karnāṭaka chakravarti* and *Apratimavīra*, and began his aggressions in all directions shortly after 1674.

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many such instances in Mysore history. *Śāhaji*: The reference here is to Shāhji II, son of Ēkōji, and not to Shāhji, the father of Śivāji and Ēkōji, who died in January 1664. *Haraji*: Śivāji's lieutenant; afterwards became Governor of Ginji. *Śivāji*: In the monsoon season of 1674 Śivāji was engaged against Bahadur Khan, the Moghul General, in the Deccan. One of the conditions of the alliance of 1677 between Śivāji and Bijāpur and Golkoṇḍa, namely, that Śivāji 'was to have a free hand against the Hindu chiefs of the South' (Kincaid and Parasnis: *Marāṭhas*, I, p. 254), would go to show that he had some knowledge of the South, the Marāṭhas having come into contact with the Mysoreans in 1674. It is, however, clear that Śivāji himself did not take part in the event of 1674 in the South (*i.e.*, near Ikkeri).

[1] *Keḷadi Nripa Vijayam*, p. 133.

[2] J. Sarkar: *Aurangzebe*, 4, 209.

[3] Kincaid and Parasnis: *Marāṭhas*, I, 253: the design is said to have been conceived by Śivāji shortly after his coronation (6th June 1674).

It is accepted that Śivāji was in the Karnāṭak during 1677 when he not only took his ancestral possessions[1] there, but also conquered the eastern, central and northern plateau in Mysore.[2] We are told that by November 1677 the whole of the Karnāṭak was 'peeled to the bones' by Śivāji's system of organized plunder and exaction, and the turbulent Paḻḻegars were repressed.[3] In August 1677 shortly after his famous interview with his brother, Venkoji (Ēkōji), at Tanjore and the acquisition of Ginji in the Upper Carnatic, we learn 'It is believed, he robbed Seringapatam and carried away great riches from there'.[4] The available evidence on the Marāṭha side does not specifically mention Śivāji's advance to Seringapatam in August 1677, nor do the Jesuit letters. On the other hand, though there is a paucity of more reliable sources of evidence on the Mysore side, we have the following in Kanarese contemporary literary sources[5]: 'The rulers of the countries around Agra, Delhi and Bhāganagar (Hyderabad) had

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[1] Ārṇi, Bangalore, Hoskote, Balapur and Śira (Kincaid and Parasnis : *Marāṭhas*, I, 258 ; J. Sarkar : *Śivāji*, 394).

[2] Śivāji, after these conquests, marched from Śira to Kopal, then to Gadag and Laksmeśvar, then Bankapur and from there retraced his steps northwards arriving at Belgaum in March 1678 (Sarkar : *Aur.*, IV, 218 ; 231-32 ; *Śivāji*, 394).

[3] Sarkar : *Loc. cit.*

[4] Orme : *Historical Fragments*, *p.* 233 (Quoted in *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 175). Letter dated 24-8-1677 (Bombay Factory Records).

[5] Chikkadevarāja Binnapa ; Gītā Gōpāla ; commentary on the Mahābhārata ; Colophons.

(Old Kannada) : *Bhayadindāgara ḍiḻḻi bhāganagara prāntaṅgaḷōḷnāḍugar jayajaya yendidiriṭṭa kappadodavim pemperi banda, Kannada nādam pokka Śivājiya sorkam muridikki apratimavīrābhikyeyam tāḷdidam.*

Note.—Śivāji's depredatory activities in Agra, Delhi, Bijāpur, Golkoṇḍa and Bhāganagar went on for a decade (1667—1677). He was at Bhāganagar in February 1677, after which he entered the Karnāṭak (Sarkar, IV, 216). The passage speaks of Chikkadevarāja as though meeting Śivāji immediately after he entered the Karnāṭak, which is impossible in the light of known facts ; Śivāji first entered the Madras plains, proceeded as far as Tanjore, acquired provinces north of the Coleroon, and by November 1677 had conquered the eastern, central and northern Mysore plateau, finally reaching Belgaum in March 1678. He could have approached Seringapatam only in August 1677 shortly after his acquisition of Tanjore and Ginji.

with fear brought tribute, and placed it before Śivāji saying 'Victory, Lord'. Swollen with pomp, the famous Śivāji entered the Kannada country. Chikkadevarāja humbled his pride and gained the title of *Apratimavīra*.' The *Apratimavīracharitam*, a work on *alaṃkāra* (rhetoric) attributed to Chikkadevarāja, is a poetical expression of the same version. The title *Apratimavīra* occurs in almost all the records[1] of Chikkadevarāja's reign; and the version is found repeated in an epigraphical record of as late[2] as 1722. Of these the selection from the Bombay Factory Records quoted above refers only to a belief or hearsay statement unconfirmed by other sources. As regards the literary version on the Mysore side, it is not clear when and in what place Chikkadevarāja and Śivāji met each other and how the title (*Apratimavīra*) was acquired. We know, however, that the title *Apratimavīra* was not acquired or gained, but only assumed by Chikkadevarāja in 1674. Chikkadevarāja's direct contact with Śivāji in 1677 was, therefore, possibly clothed in literary flourishes by the court bards of the time.

An examination of all the available sources thus far would lead us to the following view. It is probable that Śivāji in August 1677 on his way from Ginji proceeded as far as Seringapatam with a view to plunder or exact tribute from the Rāja, since he had already a knowledge[3] of the latter's state and resources during his march to Tanjore. It is to be doubted whether Chikkadevarāja, already a powerful ruler, readily submitted[4] at all to Śivāji who must have found in him a very formidable opponent. It is possible that Śivāji, equally a powerful protagonist with a record of

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[1] SR. 94, NJ. 41, MI. 16, TM. 45.

Ag. 2 dated *8th May 1677* is a *nirūpa*: refers to *Apratimalla*, as a title of Chikkadevarāja indicating that he was an unequalled or unparallelled champion.

[2] SR. 64: Tonḍanur copperplate of Krishṇarāja I of Mysore.

[3] Sarkar: *Śivāji*, p. 389.

[4] The statement that Śivāji in 1677 advanced to Seringapatam and exacted tribute from the Rāja (Satyanatha Iyer: *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 177), is not borne out by the available sources.

uninterrupted success in South India, might have been ultimately bought off by the Rāja who,[1] while remaining unsubdued, obliged him to turn towards other places in the Karnāṭak. The irruption of Śivāji could only have been a passing incident in the history of Mysore, for during 1677-80 Chikkadevarāja became more and more prominent, since Śivāji, the two Muhammadan Kingdoms of the Deccan and the Moghul lieutenants found in one another 'opponents too powerful to admit of their attending in the manner required to the gradual and skilful encroachments of the Rāja'.[2]

Chikkadevarāja viewed with alarm the predatory activities of the Marāṭhas under the successors of Śivāji and dealt tactfully with them in the consolidation of his position in Mysore. In 1680 Sāmbāji, son of Śivāji, shortly after the latter's death, advanced on the Karnāṭaka country on his way to the South to claim his father's inheritance in Ginji and Tanjore. Chikkadevarāja at first arrested[3] his progress on Mysore. But Sāmbāji marched on the South at a time when the Mysore army under the celebrated general Komārayya was engaged in the siege of Trichinopoly. In 1682, a combination of Venkoji (Ēkōji), Sāmbāji and Chokkanātha of Madura was formed against Komārayya. When the latter was negotiating with Chokkanātha to drive out Venkoji and Sāmbāji and revive Nāyaka rule in Ginji and Tanjore, the Mysore General's letters to the Rāja for additional help were intercepted, and Komārayya was defeated and captured by Haraji (called also Arasumalai)[4], the Governor of Ginji and the Commander-in-Chief of Sāmbāji, along with 2,000 horse.[5]

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[1] The omission of Southern Karnāṭak (the country of the Rāja of Mysore) among the conquests of Śivāji (Sarkar: *Aur.*, 4, 218, 231-32) is significant indicating probably that that part was not subdued, the Rāja having proved a formidable rival to Śivāji.

[2] Wilks: I, 91.

[3] *Chikkadevaraja Binnapa*, etc.:
Śivāji suta Sāmbāji yelgeya nurbukorbumam teḷḷanegaida nadbhuta parākramadim.

[4] History of the *Nāyaks of Madura*, by Satyanatha Iyer, pp. 181-83.

[5] Sarkar: *Aur.*, V, p. 53: The event is dated March 1683 in this work, but we have a Jesuit letter of 1682 referring to it (Bertrand: Letter No. 7, Appendix: *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 288).

The ruler of Trichinopoly was forced to submit to the Ginji government, and Sāmbāji established himself there. It was a complete success over the Mysore armies who were driven from 'the provinces and citadels' they had taken from the Nāyaka of Madura. Between 1682-86 Sāmbāji, assisted by the Nāyaks of Ikkeri, Canara and the Shah of Golkoṇḍa, is said to have 'mercilessly conducted war against Mysore,' desolating the country and forcing the Rāja to apply for help to the Moghul, and exact money from the provinces to provide money for the expenses of war. This, we are told, brought about a revolt of the subjects against the Rāja in 1686.[1] It was, however, put down with an iron hand, and law and order restored in the land.[2] In 1686 Chikkadevarāja retrieved the honour of Mysore by paying off[3] Sāmbāji and obtaining the release of the General, thus bringing to an end 'the atrocious wars between Mysore and Sāmbāji'. Not only this. The diplomacy of Chikkadevarāja succeeded in detaching Sāmbāji from Golkoṇḍa and Bijapur and enabling Aurangzebe to capture them[4] (1686-87). Chikkadevarāja also subdued the Morasa, Tiguḷa, Koḍaga and the Maleyāḷa chieftains who had proceeded against him relying on the Marāṭha alliance.[5]

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[1] Bertrand : Letter No. 7 (*ibid.*).

[2] *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 194.

[3] *Vide* No. 17 f. n.

Mattamā sambhojige kappavittum kūṭamam kaḷupi.

Note :—This passage is significant. The object in paying off Sāmbāji was evidently to ransom Komārayya, the Mysore General. In the light of what we know from other sources, *Kappam* in this passage cannot be literally taken as tribute.

Kūṭa refers to the large crowd of the Marāṭhas, assembled to receive the ransom, preparatory to the release of the General.

[4] *Ḍiḷḷiyāḷva mahāpādushāhanenisuva avaranga śāhanam barisi | Avanin-divara (Golkoṇḍe Bijāpuradavara) deśa kośagaḷam kaisēregoṇḍu ||*

Note :—In averting an attack of the Marāṭhas on Mysore, Chikkadevarāja held up Sāmbāji in the South, enabling Aurangzebe to crush Bijāpur and Golkoṇḍa, equally enemies of Mysore. It was subsequently easy for Aurangzebe to deal with Sāmbāji.

[5] *Mattamā marāṭarāṭopamam nambi mumbaridu eḍa baladoḷinisum pūnarda morasa tiguḷa koḍaga maleyāḷa nāḍa manneyaram bannam baḍisi.*

This passage is interesting, throwing as it does light on the heterogeneous elements of the Marāṭha army in the seventeenth century.

An interesting feature of Chikkadevarāja's connection with the Deccani Muhammadans was the extension of the sphere of influence of Mysore in the North. His defeat of Raṇadullā Khan[1] in 1675, accompanied by the acquisition of Ketasamudra, Kandikere, Handalakere, Gūḷūr, Tumkur and Honnavaḷḷi in the modern Tumkur district, was an important event in this connection pointing to the dwindling of Muhammadan power in the Karnāṭaka-Bijapur-Bālaghāt. A record[2] of Raṇadullā Khan dated 1676 indicates that the administration of the Muhammadan possessions in this region was in the hands of Hindu and Muhammadan officials. In the same year Chikkadevarāja acquired Bommasamudra from Hussein Khan,[3] another General. The wars between the Mughals and Bijāpur and Golkoṇḍa during 1674-75 naturally diverted the attention of the latter from their Karnāṭaka possessions, of which Chikkadevarāja was the first to take the fullest possible advantage in the consolidation of his position.

To turn to Chikkadevarāja's relations with the Karnāṭak Paḷḷegars, we know that already in 1674 he put 'Ikkeri Basava to scorn'. In 1675 he smote the Keḷadi kings,[4] with the Yavanas, took Sakleśpur and Arakalgud, defeated in battle Mushṭika (Narasappa Waḍeyar) who was aided by the *Morasas* and *Kirātas*, seized Jaḍakanadurga and changed its

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[1] *M.A.R.*, 1908-09, p. 26. We know nothing of Raṇadullā Khan from other available sources, especially after his first invasion of Seringapatam in 1638-39. It is possible that he was allowed to live in his fief in the Tumkur district, till late in the seventeenth century.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1922, pp. 122-23.

[3] *Palace History :* Extracts.

[4] *M.A.R.*, 1908-09, p. 26. It has been assumed that Chikkadevarāja was a contemporary of Śivappa Nāyaka I of Ikkeri (1646-1661) (*vide Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 172). Śivappa was, however, a contemporary of Devarāja Waḍeyar of Mysore (1659-73). Chikkadevarāja's reign coincided with that of Channammāji of Ikkeri (1672-1698) who ruled assisted by her adopted son, Basappa Nāyaka, eldest son of Śivappa Nāyaka II (*vide Keḷadi Nripa Vijayam*). Hence the reference to *Keḷadi Kings*. Mysore was the bone of contention between Ikkeri (or Keḷadi) and Madura, and the aggressive wars between these powers were waged with varying degrees of success in the seventeenth century. The Mysore armies were termed *Māyāvigaḷ* (enchanters or deluders) by the Nāyaks of Ikkeri.

name to Chikkadevarāyadurga. He also took Doḍḍadevagaganagiri from Chikkappa Gauḍa, another Paḷḷegar, in the same year. In 1679 Chikkadevarāja penetrated the interior of the modern Tumkur district taking Maddagiri, Miḍigeśi, Bijjavara and Channarāyadurga, having conquered Timmappa Gauḍa and Rāmappa Gauḍa.[1] In 1686 he was again victorious over the army of the Keḷadi kings capturing the elephant, Gangādhara, and took the impregnable and celebrated fortresses of Hassan and Sakkarepaṭna.[2] In 1690 he took Bāṇāvar, Kadur, Chickmagaḷūr and Belūr from Vēnkaṭādri Nāyaka.[3] His activities in the Karnāṭaka continued down to 1694 resulting in the extension of territorial jurisdiction in the modern Tumkur, Hassan and Kadur districts.

In the country to the east and south of his kingdom Chikkadevarāja's activities began as early as 1673[4] continuing off and on down to 1698; but his aggressions in these directions began definitely after 1674. In the inscription of that year we are told that he was 'a bitter foe to the Pāṇḍyas, Choḷas and Keraḷas' also. In 1675[5] he defeated Chokkanātha, the Nāyaka of Madura (1659-82), seizing Tripura (Trichinopoly), Muttānjaṭṭi and Anantagiri. We are also told that he was 'victorious over the lord of Madura in the Erode country, slew *Dāmarlaiyapendra*, his general, put to flight Anantoji, captured the elephant, Kulaśekhara, and took by assault Sāmbaḷḷi, Omalūru and Dhārāpuram.'[6] In a later inscription[7] we note that Chikkadevarāja 'emulated the sports of Krishṇa in conquering the lord of Madura'. Erode was taken

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[1] SR. 151.

[2] SR. 14: This *coup d'état* followed probably after Chikkadevarāja got rid of the attacks of Sāmbāji, with whom Ikkeri had been allied.

[3] Veṇugopālavaraprasada: *Chikkadevarāja Vamśāvaḷi. Palace History*: Extracts.

[4] *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 171; Chikkadevarāja, as Yuvarāja, also took part in his uncle Devarāja Waḍeyar's campaigns in the South (1662-1669) [*vide: Devarāja Waḍeyar of Mysore* in the *Mys. Uni. Jour.*, III (1).]

[5] *M.A.R.*, 1908-09, p. 26.

[6] SR., 14.

[7] SR., 64 of 1722.

from Makkāji Reḍḍi and the chief was pardoned; and Torenāḍu in the South was occupied.[1] The Jesuit letter of 1676 speaks of Mysore fortifying the citadels taken from the Nāyaks of Madura.[2] In 1677 Anḍūr was taken from Ghaṭṭi Mudaliar.[3] In 1682 Trichinopoly was lost by Mysore, being taken by Sāmbāji. Mysore retained a portion of the Madura kingdom in the South, and during 1682-86[4] the power of the Rāja there is said to have been on the wane, on account of the depredations of Sāmbāji.[5] The extent of Chikkadevarāja's kingdom in 1686 is clear from the establishment by him of inns (satras) to the east from Sakkarepatna, to the west from Saleyapuram (Salem), to the south from Chikkanāyakanapura (Chikkanāyakanahalli), and to the north from Dhārāpuram, at every yōjana (about nine English miles) on every road.[6] Mysore soon recovered from the crisis. In 1689-90 Chikkadevarāja renewed his activities. Āvaniperur, Coimbatore, Mannārguḍi and Kunturdurga were acquired. By 1694 Salem, Satyamangalam, Nāmakal and a large part of Bārāmahal were recovered from Chinnappa Nāyaka. Between 1694-96 Salem and Coimbatore were again invaded and the local chiefs subdued. In 1697 Daḷavoy Komārayya was sent a second time by Chikkadevarāja to lay siege to Trichinopoly. The Daḷavoy is said to have vowed not to return to Mysore without capturing that city, but an attack of the Marāṭhas (under Jayāji Ghat and Nimbāji Ghat) on Mysore in that year occasioned the recall of a portion of his army, and he returned to Mysore in 1698, having probably effected nothing.[7]

In 1687 Chikkadevarāja acquired Bangalore by purchase (for three lakhs of rupees), as is well known. In the same year while negotiations for the transfer of Bangalore were

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1 *Hastigiri Māhātmya*: Introduction.
2 *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 162.
3 *Palace History*: Extracts.
4 Corresponding with the reign of Muttuvīrappa Nāyaka III (1682-89).
5 Bertrand: Letter No. 7 (p. 288, *ibid.*).
6 SR. 14.
7 *Palace History*: Extracts, *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 207.

proceeding, Haraji, the Governor of Ginji, and Kāsim Khan, the Moghul General, the two competitors, simultaneously proceeded against the place, but Haraji's detachment soon retired without any opposition and Bangalore was invaded (in June) by the Moghuls. Kāsim Khān remained as the Governor of the uplands with Sira as his headquarters. Bangalore was handed over to Chikkadevarāja on payment of the stipulated sum. It remained, however, as the base of operations for the Moghuls in South India.[1] The Moghul arms proceeded as far as Tanjore and Trichinopoly in 1691 levying tribute from those places. The kingdom of Mysore, though not conquered by them on grounds of policy, became coterminous with the Moghul Empire. In October and November 1695 the Karnāṭaka was raided by the Marāṭhas under Śāntaji Ghorpaḍe, and the Moghul Deccan was infested by Marāṭha Captains.[2] The Moghul arms under Kāsim Khan sustained some reverses. There was no peace in the South until Śāntaji's death in June 1697 when the Moghuls were left undisputed masters of the Deccan. About this time when the Mysore army under Daḷavoy Komārayya was engaged in the renewed siege of Trichinopoly, two Marāṭha Generals by name Jayāji Ghat and Nimbāji Ghat, provoked by the aggressions of Chikkadevarāja, passed towards the western country in support of Ginji and Drāviḍa, and attacked Seringapatam with Marāṭha auxiliaries. They were skilfully and successfully repulsed by a portion of the Mysore army under Daḷvoy Doḍḍayya (son of Komārayya), and the Marāṭha Generals killed, their heads being paraded in Seringapatam.[3] The Marāṭha menace to Mysore during the reign of Chikkadevarāja was at last over.

It was two years later that an important event took place in Mysore—the embassy of Chikkadevarāja to the court of Aurangzebe. We have at present no details on the Marāṭha side, and our main sources of information are the manuscripts

[1] Wilks, I, 91-92.
[2] Sarkar : *Aur.*, V, 110, 126-27.
[3] *Palace History* : Extracts ; Wilks, I, 95-96.

relied upon by Col. Wilks and the *Palace History*. The details narrated in these sources indicate the rise of the Rāja of Mysore in the estimation of the Emperor on account of his services to the cause of the Moghul Empire, particularly in making the path clearer to the Emperor by arresting the progress of the Marāṭhas. While it is possible that Chikkadevarāja's ulterior aim was to secure or win the goodwill of the Emperor, it is certain that the Rāja's main object in repulsing the Marāṭhas was to keep his own kingdom free from their encroachments, as we have already seen. The object with which the embassy (under Karṇik Lingaṇṇayya, the Vakil of Chikkadevarāja) was sent was, according to *Palace History*, 'to strike terror to the mischievous Paḷḷegars (who, out of jealousy of the Rāja's position, were plotting against him) by cultivating friendship with the Emperor.' Such a policy was justified from a local point of view. A general knowledge of the conditions of the time would, however, show that Chikkadevarāja appears to have had other considerations also. He had watched keenly the trend of Moghul affairs from the fall of Bijapur and Golkoṇḍa (1686-87) down to the death of his 'friend and protector,' Kāsim Khan, the Moghul General, in 1698. The latter event was a great blow to the Rāja and he anticipated trouble to his kingdom from Kāsim Khan's successors, the Moghul Emperor, once friendly, being now probably jealous of the Rāja's position, and the Moghul arms also being powerful in the Deccan between 1698-1701. To save Mysore from a possible, and perhaps long-deferred, Moghul invasion, Chikkadevarāja appears to have found it politically expedient also to despatch a timely embassy and offer of friendship to the Emperor in 1699 to the latter's court at Ahmadnagar.[1] The embassy returned to Mysore in 1700 with the title, *Rājā Jagadev* (engraved on the signet ring), and permission to sit on the ivory throne, said to have been conferred by the Emperor on Chikkadevarāja. Although the embassy does not seem to

[1] *Cf.* Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar's statement in *The Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 198, f.n.

have profoundly impressed Aurangzebe, as stated by Wilks,[1] its effect was spectacular, judging from the splendid reception accorded to the Khillats from the Moghul Court. The prestige of Mysore was enhanced locally: the Rāja, an independent ruler, became a power friendly with the Moghul Empire and secure from any internal or external troubles and introduced in Mysore new administrative institutions based on Moghul practice and procedure.

By assuming the titles *Karnāṭakachakravarti* and *Apratimavīra* as a possible rival of Śivāji and a representative of Hindu imperial traditions, Chikkadevarāja established himself as an important ruler in the Karnāṭaka country—especially over the turbulent Paḷḷegars; by his varied activities in the southern country he became famous as *Teṅkaṇarāya*[2] (Lord of the South); and by his relations with the Deccan kingdoms, the Marāṭhas and the Moghul Empire, he raised the status of Mysore during the critical period of the seventeenth century. He was thus able to check the encroachments of his contemporaries on his growing kingdom and build it on a sound basis. He also established an effective centralization over the conquered chiefs and reorganized the administration of the places occupied by him. At his death in 1704 his kingdom extended in the east as far as Salem and Baramahal, in the west as far as the modern Hassan and Kadur districts, in the south up to Coimbatore and Dhārāpuram and in the north as far as the modern Bangalore and Tumkur districts. Looked at from all these standpoints Chikkadevarāja's relations with his contemporaries have an abiding significance in the making of modern Mysore.

III. The Dalavoy Regime

The period of rule of the successors of Chikkadevarāja Waḍeyar down to 1761 may be conveniently termed as the *Daḷavoy Régime* or the *régime* of the Commanders-in-Chief of Mysore. As long as the strong hand of the king controlled the affairs of the State, the Commander-in-Chief was only a

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[1] Wilks, I, 99-100.

[2] *Mysūru Rājara Charitre*: Extracts.

secondary element in the politics of the kingdom and, with a few exceptions, his services to the cause of the country were laudable.

With the accession of Kanṭhirava II (1704-14), son of Chikkadevarāja, however, a change set in. The Daḷavoys of his reign seem to have taken advantage of his limitations and for the first time paved the way for their ascendency.

Of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar I (1714-32), son of Kanṭhirava II, we have accounts in inscriptions and literary works; but he was, like his predecessor, essentially a pious and peaceful ruler. The administration of Mysore was carried on by Daḷavoy Devarājayya assisted by Sarvādhikāri Nanjarājayya —both of them the king's close relatives. Thus the king gradually played himself into the hands of the Daḷavoy and paved the way for retrogression in royal authority.

The short reign of Chāmarāja Waḍeyar (1732-34), the adopted son of Krishṇarāja I, was characterized by an extreme preponderance of the Daḷavoy and the officials over the administration of the kingdom. The deposition of Chāmarāja was followed by the rule of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar II (1734-66), another adopted son of Krishṇarāja I. During his period of office the actual administration was conducted by the Daḷavoys, Devarājayya and Karāchuri Nanjarājayya, Sarvādhikāri Nanjarājayya, Venkatapathiah, Dewan Khanḍe Rao and Hyder Ali Khan, while the king was occupied mostly in religious piety. This feature of his rule coupled with the constant bickerings among the officers was ultimately taken advantage of by Hyder Ali.

Although it might be held *a priori* that the Daḷavoys were responsible for the historic *interregnum* of 1761, an examination of the evidence proves the contrary. The Daḷavoys of the period, whatever their motives in the assumption of predominance over the administration, had the political advancement of the kingdom at heart. The Daḷavoys of Kanṭhirava II's reign extended the Mysore frontier by their brilliant achievements. Daḷavoy Devarājayya was instrumental in the acquisition of Kolar to Mysore during the reign

of Krishṇarāja Waḍeyar II. A letter[1] of his, dated 1751, details the transactions in this connection: "Ummāji Panḍit of Kolar has sent word to Daḷavoy Devarājayya of Mysore through Sābāji Nāyaka that in case assurance was given with regard to the maintenance of rights and privileges of the *Deshmukh*, *Deshpānḍe*, *Nāḍugauḍa* and others as heretofore, as also with regard to the expenses of the establishment, the salary of 400 Ōlekārs of Somaiya and the villages to be granted to himself, he would arrange for the transfer of Kolar to Mysore Government and send his own younger brother to Seringapatam. Devarājayya wrote to him in reply that he need not feel the least anxiety about any of the matters mentioned above in case the place was transferred to Mysore Government, and asked him to effect the transfer, looking upon the assurance given by Gōpālarājayya and Sābāji Nāyaka as assurance given by himself." This letter is sufficiently illustrative of the sincerity of Devarājayya's intentions in regard to the extension of the sphere of influence of Mysore over the territories occupied by the Marāṭhas. Devarājayya also conquered and annexed *Māgadi* from Mummadi Kempe Gowda.[2] His brother Karāchuri Nanjarājayya (of Kaḷale) acquired *Dhārānagara* and *Baḷḷāpūr* for Mysore.[3] The brothers also consolidated the position of Mysore in various parts of the country. There is thus enough data testifying to the energy and whole-hearted devotion of the Daḷavoys to the cause of the Kingdom of Mysore.

The *Bhāshāpatra* (deed of promise) and the *Nambuge Nirūpa* (Order of Assurance), the two important political documents[4] executed in 1758 by Krishṇaraja Waḍeyar II in favour of Kaḷale Nanjarājayya by way of reconciliation with the latter prove clearly the evil of excessive devolution of power on the Commander-in-chief, of which advantage was

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1 *M.A.R.*, 1909-10, p. 42.

2 *Kakudgiri Māhātmya* by Nanjarāja: Introduction, also *M.A.R.*, 1922, p. 16.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *E.C.*, IV (ii), NJ. 267 and 268.

later taken by the third party, Hyder Ali. The real force behind these documents was Hyder Ali himself, for it was he who, out of a diplomatic move, arranged for the reconciliation between Nanjarāja and the King.

For what followed after 1758, it is not fair to throw the entire blame on the Daḷavoys. The absence of strong personal rule of the King followed by its corollary, the prevalence of endless court intrigues, as also the lack of critical appreciation of the forces of the time, contributed, to a great extent, to the rise of Hyder Ali to power in 1761.

EXPLOITS OF VĪRA NĀRĀYAṆA

BY SOMA SUNDARA DESIKAR

THE famous Oṭṭakkūttan was the poet-laureate of three successive Chôḷa Emperors—Vikrama Chôḷa son of Kulōttunga I, Kulōttunga II and Rājarāja II. Some of his poems are accurately historical. The *Mūvar Ulā*[1] and *Kullōttungan Piḷḷai-t-tamil*[2] are some of them. There is some historical material in *Takkayāga-p-paraṇi*[3] also another work of his which was produced during the reign of Rājarāja II (1146-1162 A.D.). Therein, he sings the praises of some of the previous monarchs of the Chôḷa dynasty.[4] Particular mention is made of Nambi Piḷḷai otherwise known as Kārikai Kuḷathoor[5] Uḍayān Kuḷattuḷan Tiruchirrambalamudayān Perumān Nambi, who is mentioned in many inscriptions.[6] Similarly the poet refers to a historical incident in another minor poem called *Ētti Yelupattu.*[7]

Origin of Etti Yelupattu

Ētti Yelupattu is a poem on *Ētti* or The Lance. This poem contains 70 stanzas describing the meritorious deeds done with the lance. It is said that the lance is the special weapon of Sengundars or Kaikkōḷars, a sect of weavers. The occasion for the creation of this minor poem is narrated as follows:—

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1 Published by Mr. A. Gopala Aiyar, Tamil Pandit.

2 A work of 100 stanzas of which about 60 stanzas have been printed in *Tamiḻ Poḻil*, a monthly issued by the Karanthai Tamil Sangam.

3 Published by M. M. V. Swaminada Iyer, Madras, 1930.

4 Couplets 772 to 777 mention Rājarāja the great, Rājēndra the Gangaikoṇda Chôla, Vīrarājēndra who defeated the Western Chāḷukyas and again re-instated one of the same family, Sungamtavirtta Chôla *alias* Kulôttunga I, Vikrama Chôla who won Kalinga and Kulôttunga Chôla. Another interpretation also has been given to these couplets. They are taken to eulogise Rājarāja II as the patron of the poet.

5 This place is identified with a small village near Chingleput.

6 Nos. 424 and 433 of 1924.

7 Published by Sengunda Mahājana Sangam.

Oṭṭakkūttan belonged to the caste of Kaikkōḷars, from which a large body of men was drawn for the military service. Their principal weapon was the lance. During a castemen's gathering, Oṭṭakkūttan also happened to be there. It was suggested in the gathering that the poet should be asked to sing the praises of the caste warriors. He refused to praise them for obvious reasons, but at last consented to sing the praises of his caste, provided that they were prepared to sacrifice some of their heads and place them as a seat for him. Though they demurred at first, it is averred that they eventually agreed to do so and heaped a number of heads, on which he sat and sang the glorious deeds of his castemen who preceded him. In stanzas 46 and 47 of that poem, he makes mention of two persons Vīran and Nārāyaṇan of Paḻuvūr[1] who were famed for glorious deeds during their life-time.

Story of Vira Narayana

It is said that Vīranand Nārāyaṇan were twin brothers and they were generally called Vīranārāyaṇar. Another minor poem celebrates the bravery of these twins, under the name of *Vīranārāyaṇa Vijayam*.[2] The author of this work is one Ṅānaprakāsa Dēsikar of Kānchīpuram, who is said to have lived about five hundred years ago. The theme of the story is that the heroes lived during the reign of Parāntaka I and a Raṭṭa chief named Vallān of Nellore troubled the country very seriously. Parāntaka sent these generals to subdue him and the enemy was silenced. When Parāntaka asked them how they killed him they unsheathed their swords, cut off their own heads saying that they took Vallān's head in like manner.

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[1] Paḻuvūr, a small town in the Trichinopoly district about fourteen miles north of Tiru-ayyāṟu, north of Tanjore.

[2] Printed at the Hindu Theological Press in 1898. The work contains 683 stanzas divided into fifteen sargas. They are 1. *Kadavuḷ vāḻttu*, 2. *Chōḻan avai-c-ciṟappu*, 3. *Vīranārāyaṇa-c-carukkam*, 4. *Vikkala-c-carukkam*, 5. *Pōrāṭar-c-arukkam*, 6. *Kaḷavukāṉ carukkam*, 7. *Dēva Sakshi-c-carukkam*, 8. *Tūdaṟai carukkam*, 9. *Kāppamaī carukkam*, 10. *Yeḻucci-c-carukkam*, 11. *Nipantanai-c-carukkam*, 12. *Tambārōhaṇa-c-carukkam*, 13. *Māngalyappiccai itta carukkam*, 14. *Maittalai-c-carukkam*, 15. *Mītchi-c-carukkam*.

According to inscriptions, Parāntaka sent his army to subdue a chief at Nellore, of which more anon. A summary of the story of the chiefs as found in *Vīranārāyaṇa Vijayam* is given below:—

When Parāntaka was reigning at Tanjore, he asked his courtiers one day, whether there were brave men in the country who could lead his army against his foes. One of his courtiers informed him that the chiefs Vīran and Nārāyaṇan of Paḻuvūr, who belonged to the clan of Nava Vīrar, were the best of equestrians, devotees of Muruga—the War-God—and the bravest of warriors who could do any behest of the king. Parāntaka sent for them and when satisfied with them, he appointed them as generals of his army. When there was no war, they were looking after their country. During this time, a Raṭṭa chief named Bhōga was ruling at Nellore. He had a son by the name of Vikkalan. He was also called Vallān. When Vikkalan became of age, a Ṛṣi came to his palace and taught him a mantra. He went to the temple of Sômanātha—the patron deity of the chiefs—and concentrated his attention on the mantra. Sômanātha was pleased with the devotee, appeared before him and asked him his wants. He replied that he wanted four boons. The boons were a magic horse, a corselet which could not be pierced by anyone, a sword and a gada. Lord Sômanātha granted these boons but informed him at the same time that they would not last long and would perish soon, as the Ṛṣi never thought that the chief would ask for these worldly ephemeral things. When Vallān got what he wanted, he left Nellore—his birth place—selected Kadambur, a place in the south and built a city guarded by a moat and a deep ditch and beautified it. He invited people to live there. When he was satisfied with the arrangements of the town, his thoughts led him on to worldly pleasures and to marriage. He returned to Nellore and informed his parents of his desire. They selected a bride and celebrated the marriage on a grand scale.

After his marriage, he left Nellore for Kadambur with his bride and was enjoying the pleasures of life. In the midst of

these, he used to maraud the neighbouring countries. He was far above their clutches and the surrounding country people were not able to withstand his onslaughts. So, one day, they gathered and waited on him and made terms with him. According to the terms, every neighbouring chief or king was to pay him a certain amount of tribute. When this piece of news was carried to Parāntaka he sent for his minister and learned all about this marauder. Parāntaka wanted to root out this pest immediately, but his minister counselled him to be patient, as Vikkalan himself might send his men for the collection of the tributes, taking him to be one of those who contracted with him. Then they might deal with him. As was thought, Vikkalan sent his men to collect tributes from Parāntaka also and when his men entered the audience hall of Parāntaka, they were put to shame and driven away. On hearing this, Vikkalan was enraged and came to Tanjore on his magic horse at night, robbed the treasury and went away. When the robbery was known to the king, he collected his army and sent it against Vikkalan. Vallān too collected his army and the two forces met and fought fiercely for a whole day. Neither party won and both retired in the evening. When Parāntaka heard of this, he himself rose to lead the army against his foe. But his minister intervened and informed his king that Vallān was a small man and no fit enemy for a mighty sovereign like him. He counselled that he would be destroyed if Vīra and Nārāyaṇa were sent against him. Accordingly they were sent for and when they were informed of this, the twins represented to the king that a thief required no special army and Vikkalan might turn up any day at the capital. Till then they promised to wait in the city. Proud of the result of the last war, Vikkalan came on his magic horse and alighted at Tanjore and robbed several houses. Vīra and Nārāyaṇa came to know of this and they found him out, fought with him and recovered the property. Both the foes fought so valiantly that neither could win. Vīra was much enraged and thought of dashing his opponent against the

earth. With that intent he threw him in the air. His magic horse also sprang into the air. Vallān, thus handled, fearing for his life, mounted his magic horse and ran away to his town.

Vīra was puzzled at the disappearance of the foe, when Nārāyaṇa told him that he must have disappeared by magic. They went to the king and reported the fight that occurred the previous night. They informed the king at the same time, that they would kill him before the fifth day from the date of the king's order. They also requested that no army need follow them but their chosen companions of ten men. The ten men were: 1. Tanjai Vēmban, 2. Kacci Tanian, 3. Oṟṟiyūran, 4. Kaḷaṇḍai Arasan, 5. Puṟṟiṭan Koṇḍān, 6. Kōḷantakan, 7. Puliyūr Paḷḷikoṇḍān, 8. Piṉavan, 9. Kaṇḍiyūran and 10. Mudukunṟam Maṉian. They further requested that Vallān and the country might be informed of this fact. When Vallān heard the news, he feared for his life, as he had tried his strength with the twins during the recent night raid, constructed a special pavilion within his city and entrenched himself behind it.

A special chapter in the book describes the arrangements he made for his safety. He is said to have planted a massive pillar of a hundred feet high with a girth of thirty feet. The pillar was coated with a mixture of castor oil and fat so that nobody could climb up. A pavilion was put up on the top of this pillar and he sat there with his wife so that nobody could approach them easily. He had the necessary provision for the six days within which the twins had sworn to kill him. Notwithstanding this precaution, he ordered Kāḷi—goddess of destruction—to wait at the outer gate of his fortified town in front of the moat and watch so that nobody could approach him from anywhere. He ordered Durgā to wait at the next entrance with all her demons. He shut up all the other gates of his fort except the eastern entrances which were seven in number. In the first two entrances he ordered his picked men to wait and in the third he kept many wild elephants. In the fourth entrance prancing steeds were kept

and in the fifth, ferocious red dogs were kept to watch. The sixth was guarded by wild tigers and the seventh by untamed lions. He dug a deep ditch after the last entrance, filled it with water and allowed crocodiles and alligators to play therein. Within it a fire was made and behind it the massive pillar was put up. Thus fortified he climbed up his pavilion and rested there.

While Vikkalan was thus guarding himself, the twin-brothers Vīran and Nārāyaṇan together with their companions spent the first day of their time in the capital, making arrangements for the publication of their march by beat of drums. On the second day they went to take leave of their king, who told them that they had got only five days more from that date. Vīran represented to the king that they were ready to start on their errand after performing worship to their deity—God Muruga—and with the benediction of the king. They left for their town of Pa̤luvūr after taking leave of the king. There they called their trusted servants, informed them that they wanted to worship god for three more days, and ordered them to procure the things necessary for the worship.

While they were spending two and a half days thus in worship, spies sent to the town of Kadambur returned with the news as to how Vallān was guarding himself. On hearing this Vīra rose to his feet and informed his comrades that three and a half days had already passed and they should not tarry there any longer. Immediately Vīran crossing his sword swore that he would not be afraid if any of his comrades was slain while attempting to take the life of Vallān and would not return without killing the foe. Others also vowed in like manner and set out on their errand.

When they entered the dominions of the foe, they met with the first guard Durgā. Vīran, the leader of the party, informed the rest that Durgā would be appeased by nothing except human sacrifices. When the party heard of this, Kacci Tanian cut off his head of his own accord and appeased Durgā. They got the benediction of that goddess and met

the second watch. There Kāḷi appeared in her full ferocious form, when Oṟṟiyūran offered his head as a sacrifice to Kāḷi. When she had been thus appeased, she allowed the ten men to go as she was not pleased with Vikkalan who was always exacting work without propitiating her. Then they approached the moat and were finding a way to cross it, when Kōlāntaka informed his comrades if another of the party was prepared to sacrifice his life with him, both the corpses might be tied as a raft and the remaining eight men would be able to cross the moat easily. Immediately Maṉian offered himself and cut off his head. The rest tied the two bodies, used them as a raft and reached the other side. When they reached the town after these sacrifices, they found out that the town was built on eight posts. When they examined them one by one they found the eastern post would carry them within the town. As the post was too large to climb single-handed, one of the party suggested that it would be easy to climb the post if they sprang one over another like frogs. They accordingly leapt on one another, reached the summit and crossed on to the platform. When they approached the gate they found to their utter astonishment, that the picked men of Vallān were all sleeping soundly, perhaps by sheer fatigue as they kept vigil incessantly for the last four days. They passed the four gates thus found unguarded and reached the fifth entrance where red dogs were watching. Puṟṟitan Koṇḍān suggested that the red dogs were fond of raw flesh and accordingly he cut off his head with a request that others might cut up his flesh and throw it to the dogs. When they had crossed that barrier thus satisfying the dogs they met fierce tigers which were satisfied by the flesh of Kaḷandai Arasan. Then they came to the last entrance guarded by lions where Paḷḷikoṇḍān offered himself as a prey to them. Thus they crossed all the entrances though they lost seven of their comrades. The remaining five saw to their astonishment that they had to cross the fire before they reached the inner town. Piṉavan fell into that fire and before he was consumed, others crossed the fire walking over his body. When they got to the other side

they met with the ditch full of alligators and Kaṇḍiyūran suggested that he might be used to cross the moat and accordingly he sacrificed himself. When they crossed the moat, they came face to face with that large post smeared with lubricants on which the pavilion stood. Tanjai Vēmban suggested that one had to use human blood to climb up that massive pillar coated with fat and oil, and that his life might be sacrificed to draw the necessary blood. Accordingly he cut off his head and the blood was smeared around the post and the two heroes were fortunately left to climb it. At last they came to the tent where Vikkalan and his wife were sleeping. Vīran and Nārāyaṇan reached the place after sacrificing the precious lives of their ten comrades.

When Anangavalli, wife of Vikkalan, heard the tread of footsteps she feared for the life of her husband, came out and met the two brothers. She immediately prostrated herself before them and begged the life of her husband. As the twins were noblemen by birth, they granted her prayer but conditioned that Vikkalan should vacate Kadambur and accept Parāntaka as suzerain. Vikkalan also awoke and when the two brothers met him, he accepted all these conditions and begged for his life. They told him that they had promised to kill and lay his head before their king and wanted to keep to their promise. Vallān immediately suggested that he could produce a likeness of his head by magic and they could take and deliver that head to his king. They accepted it as a palliative as they had no other alternative now, as they had granted the prayer of Anangavalli. After razing Kadambur to the ground, they returned to Parāntaka with the false head given by Vallān and they laid that head at the feet of their king. When Parāntaka enquired how they decapitated Vallān's head, they immediately put their hands to their swords and cut off their heads saying that they severed the head of Vallān in like manner. Parāntaka, fearing the consequences of the sin, took his sword and began to commit suicide as an expiation for that sin. By the grace of Muruga, the War-God, Vīra and Nārāyaṇa and the ten

comrades who had perished in the attempt to kill Vallān, came to life by a miracle. All the chiefs were congratulated and gifts were made to them. This is in short what we find in *Vīra Nārāyaṇa Vijayam.*

Its Historicity

Though there are apparent discrepancies in the story, two facts stand out conspicuously from the above narration. When Chôḷa Parāntaka was ruling the Chôḷa Kingdom, a chief of Nellore revolted and he was subdued by the generals of the Chôḷa monarch. Though we have no direct evidence to show that Vīra and Nārāyaṇa killed the Raṭṭa chief Vallān or Vikkalan, we have it from inscriptions that some of Parāntaka's generals went over to Nellore, defeated a chief and ravaged the country about 941 A.D. Inscription No. 160 of 1912 found on a slab at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr[1] records that Sembian Chōlia Varayan Māran Parameswaran of Srukaḷattūr gave a perpetual lamp to the god at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr when he was returning from Nellore after annihilating Sītpuli. Again, another inscription No. 236 of 1912[2] found on a broken pillar lying near the kitchen at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr mentions the same fact of victory gained by the above-mentioned general at Nellore. Who this Sītpuli was and to what clan he belonged are matters to be investigated. The Madras Epigraphists think that 'Sītpuli' defeated by the Chôḷa general at Nellore must have been an Eastern Chaḷukya King or one of the latter's powerful subordinates.[3] This supposition seems to be unsound, as the Rāshṭrakūṭas were powerful at the time. Though we have not got inscriptions of the tenth century in or around Nellore to support the foregoing statement, yet a number of twelfth century inscriptions are found everywhere in the district.[4] Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty write that "Rēpūr shows 67 Telugu inscriptions out of a total of 79 and some of the former are dated in the thirteenth and

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[1] *S.I.I.*, III. [2] *M.E.R.*, 1912. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Inscriptions of the Nellore District* by Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty.

fourteenth centuries; a similar remark applies also to Nellore which possesses 64 Telugu inscriptions in a total of 124. Old Telugu inscriptions are thus not unknown in the southern part of the district just as old Tamil inscriptions occur in such unquestionably Telugu taluks as Atmakur; but, on the whole, Mr. Venkayya's conclusions seem to be correct, for, generally, Chôḷa or Chôda inscriptions are in Telugu in the north of the district and in Tamil in the south. The line of division between the two languages may, in the thirteenth century, have lain in the Nellore taluk but Rēpūr seems to have always been Telugu. Nowadays the dividing line roughly coincides with the southern boundary of the district."[1] Moreover, Messrs. Butterworth and Chetty did not think it worth while to give details of all the Tamil inscriptions found in the district. Thus we are precluded from denying the existence of previous records authoritatively.

As to the Raṭṭa chief mentioned in the poem, we do not possess any definite information at present. But we know that the Rāshṭrakūṭas were powerful during the period under consideration. Krishṇa III of the Rāshṭrakūṭa line was the sworn enemy of the Chôḷas. Perhaps when Krishṇa III was driven away by Parāntaka when that king entered Chôḷamaṇḍalam according to the Kanyākumāri inscriptions,[2] his generals might have gone as far as Nellore and annexed these portions. The year found in the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr inscriptions coincides with that of the Rāshṭrakūṭa defeat. As to Vīra and Nārāyaṇa, we are not able to gather anything from history. But this much we know that Vīra-Nārāyaṇa is the title of Parāntaka I. Beyond that we have no other information. There is no local tradition at Paḷuvūr. Of course, there may be warriors in the Sengundar clan but we have not enough evidence to fix them clearly. Anyhow, the study of this Tamil poem suggests that many Tamil works contain historical materials for investigation.

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[1] *Ibid.*, introduction.

[2] *T.A.S.*, Vol. II.

THE VIVEKA-SARA OF SANKARANANDA

BY ARTHASASTRA VISARADA MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA
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(*Concluded from Vol. XXII, No. 2*)

Cessation from Worldly Activity

WHOEVER has arrived at such a knowledge as the above should give up all worldly activity. For when a man comes to know that what he mistook for silver is merely a conch-shell, he does not proceed to pick it up. So when a man realizes that the whole is Brahman and Brahman alone and that the world is merely phenomenal, he will have no interest in the world. Having seen the true moon in the sky, no man will go to look at a picture of the moon painted on a wall. It should not be said that though a man has understood the true nature of Brahman or Ātman, he may act in the world with no harm to himself. For uselessness of such activity itself is a harm. Of what use is the activity of a man who, though knowing that it is mirage, goes to look for water there? The incentive for work is the attainment of some good or the avoidance of harm. A Brahma-knower can have neither of the two in worldly activity, if he takes himself to it. For having realized Brahman, he is not only tasting Brahman-bliss, but also has got rid of the chain of birth and death.

Some say that the form of his thought ought to be that he is not the body, not the senses, not the vital breath, not the mind, not the intellect, and not a man or woman, but pure senscience and witness of all, and that Brahman is not affected with such functions as doing, enjoying, goodness, badness and attempt at knowing things. They say further that he should also think as follows :—" I am quite different from doer, deed, enjoyer, the enjoyable, speaker, speech, approacher, the approachable, destroyer, the destructible, seer, the seen, the body, the eyes, the ears, the vital breath,

the intellect, the mind, egoism, and speech; but that I am pure eternal sensciency. There can possibly be no incentive for me to enter into voluntary activity; for such involuntary work as respiration, hearing, seeing, and the like I am not at all responsible. Just as the sky is not affected with the thunder, lightning, raining and the like, so I am not at all touched with the involuntary work of the body, the senses and other organs."[1]

They add that "one will not get Mōksha with the Brahman-knowledge of another. Nor will he get into bondage with the sinful acts of another. It follows therefore that if after attaining to the true knowledge of Brahman one is absorbed in Brahman, one will not be tainted with the effect of the involuntary acts of the body, the senses, and other organs. The body remains and goes on doing its natural work as long as the effect of past karma spends itself. It is only voluntary work undertaken with strong desire that is condemned here. Provided that a Brahma-knower has his mind in Brahman or Ātman, he may with no harm to himself engage himself either in worldly talk or Vēdāntic discussion, he may let his hands do acts laid down or prohibited in the Vedas; he may, while going for alms, happen to see with his eyes all sorts of things going on in the streets; he may, in eating the alms or begged food, happen to eat relishing dishes; he may happen to hear agreeable or disagreeable sounds, smell good or bad odour and sleep in darkness or light. They say further that when Brahman alone is true, and when the whole world, inclusive of the body, the senses, and their work, is known to be unreal and false, that false world and false worldly activity cannot at all frighten the knower of Brahman, though his body and senses are active in doing good or bad. For a false serpent never bites, the doer, the instruments of doing,

[1] This statement should be borne in mind by those who accuse the Advaitins of their liability to immorality. When an Advaitin ceases to act in the world, as he ought to, if he has realized Brahman, such a charge cannot be brought against him.

and the deed are all false. When the knower of Brahman knows that all is false except Brahman, how can that false activity affect him ? Neither will his activity involve him in bondage, nor will his withdrawal from worldly activity bring in emancipation. For both activity and inactivity are the functions of the intellect (buddhi). How can one be bound or released from bondage by the bad or good deeds of another ? Let others speak well or ill of us, we continue, however, to remain in Brahman, not caring for the good or bad acts of our body and the senses. Hence, there is no necessity for the knower of Brahman to cease from worldly activity."

We cannot at all tolerate even for a moment the above view, commencing from "some say that the form of thought" and ending with "no necessity for the knower of Brahman to cease from worldly activity". It is true that as the world is merely phenomenal, it is really false and unreal. Likewise, the body, the senses, and their activity are all unreal and false. Just as water in mirage, blue colour in the sky, and a city reflected on the surface of a mirror are all unreal and false ; and just as silver appears on a conch-shell, so the whole world is an appearance on the basis of Brahman. Likewise, a woman and other things, though unreal and non-existent in their own form, appear standing before a man whose mind is set on them. Hence it is the mind that creates a doer, the instruments of his doing and his deeds together with their results. All this is true. When the knower of Brahman knows that all this is unreal and false, why should he engage himself in worldly activity and for what good ? A man may mistake mirage for water and attempt to get water in it, though he finally fails in his attempt. But when a man knows that it is mirage and not water, for what earthly good should he go and wander in mirage ? Likewise, when a man knows that the thing that lies before him is merely a conch-shell and not silver, he will not pick it up. The knower of Brahman cannot say that if engaged in worldly activity, he will get the

pleasure of seeing, hearing, touching, and so on. For if he really knows the true nature of Brahman, and if he knows, as he ought to, that sensual pleasure is as unreal and false as the senses themselves, he will not at all engage himself in any pursuit after objects like a fool. Let a fool take pleasure in his pursuits. But how can a wise man find pleasure in them, when he knows, as he ought to, that what appears as objective pleasure is really the reflection of self-centred Brahma-pleasure? Who will go to bathe in mirage water? It should not be said that a wise man acts thinking that both his act and the thing on which he acts are unreal and false. For when a man thinks that a thing is unreal and false, how can he proceed to act upon it? A man proceeds to act upon a thing, only when he knows that it is in existence and not at all, when he knows that it is false and therefore non-existent. The belief that a thing is non-existent, and attempt to act upon it are inconsistent with each other. The Vedas and Smritis also declare that a true knower should remain quiet equally both physically and mentally.

Some say that when, however, a man believes that a man should be pure of heart, should tell the truth, should explain the Śāstras, and should do what is laid down in the Vedas, he may act up to his conviction with no harm to himself. If a man follows the above precept, there can be no doubt that he will prove a pretender, a blame-worthy man, and not fit to be associated with by the wise. Also he will not only lose emancipation, but also will get the infamy of a cheat. Besides, there can be no explanation of the inconsistency of a man acting upon the world, notwithstanding his conviction that the world is unreal and false. The two functions, namely, belief that the world is non-existent and acting upon the world at the same time, are opposed to each other. Objective pursuit draws the mind outside towards the object, while the belief that the object is non-existent drives it inside towards the true self. Withdrawal from objective pursuit gives rest and happiness to the senses by relieving them from

the fatigue of action. Activity always causes fatigue and hardship and is invariably brought about by its utility to the agent, while inactivity is always due to the conviction that activity is of no use. All activity is meant to satisfy physical and mental cravings. When a man regards his body and the intellect as his own self, then alone he engages himself in objective pursuit with the desire of satisfying their cravings. When, however, he has got rid of such false identification, and when he knows the true nature of Brahman or Ātman, then it is impossible that he should have any physical or mental cravings and attempt to satisfy those cravings.

Some others say that just as a Sannyāsin goes on begging alms for the protection of his body, in spite of his conviction that the world is unreal, that all activity is useless, and that Brahman alone is true and all-pervading, so others, whether Sannyāsins or house-holders, may with no harm to themselves engage themselves in all acts, social or religious. Does not a Sannyāsin beg for food and eat it, in spite of his conviction that it is unreal and false? Does he not wander from place to place for the sake of food to preserve his body and the intellect? If so, why should not others engage themselves in other social and religious works in addition to the activity necessary for begging food? All that is necessary for him is that he should think that it is only the body, the senses, and the intellect that do the work, but not the Ātman. When there is this conviction, he will not be tainted with the sin of his physical and intellectual work. Just as the sky is not affected with dust and rain-water, so the knower of Brahman will not be affected with the work of the non-self.

Those who make such a statement should be asked the following questions:—When a Sannyāsin or a householder with knowledge of Brahman engages himself in objective pursuit, does he do the work for his own good or for the good of others? If he does work for his own good, is it for worldly happiness or heavenly-bliss? If it is for worldly happiness, is it for the protection of his own body or for the protection of

his followers ? Or does he do so for pleasure ? In the case of a Sannyāsin, it cannot be for the protection of any followers ; for when as a Sannyāsin he has renounced all, he has no followers or dependants. Nor can it be for the protection of his own body for the body, being the result of his past deeds, lasts as long as the result of past actions endures, whether he cares for it or not. Thus when the protection of his body is accomplished by something else, wise men devoid of all nescience make no attempt for the sake of it. When a thing is otherwise accomplished, no wise man attempts to act for it and thus tire himself in vain. His effort will be directed only where he will be eternally happy. Ready-made past deeds bring in their results in time, of their own accord. Ātman should attempt only for those which without his effort are not attainable. The merits of past actions bring in their results just as parents bring in food, water, fruits, and other strength-giving things for their babies. No Brahma-knower need, therefore, attempt for the protection of his body. The result of past deeds alone does that work, and requires no action on his part. It is waiting each day to deliver the fruit of past deeds, and this is seen in sleep and other unconscious states. In sleep, in the mother's womb, in infancy, and in time of fits, no personal effort is seen for the protection of the body. Without providential help, no man's effort is ever seen to succeed. The king known as Parikshit lived in the midst of water to avoid death from snake-bite, as predicted ; still he died of snake-bite in the midst of water. Hence, it follows that man gets good or bad and happiness or misery not in virtue of his efforts but as a result of his past actions in spite of his efforts to the contrary. The body is there to experience either happiness or misery due to past actions ; and no one can prevent it. The results of past actions are unavoidable ; Bali, Rama, and others are instances of inevitableness of this rule. Whatever is ordained to happen in a definite place and time will surely occur in that place and time like storm in rainy season. Hence Sannyāsins possessed of

Brahma-knowledge will never attempt either to get happiness or to avoid misery. On days of their going out for begging for food they avail themselves of whatever comes of its own accord as a result of their past actions, and without thinking whether it is good or bad they accept it like children. They merge themselves in the ocean of peace never thinking of their personal well-being; for they know that Viṣṇu has taken the oath of keeping himself near them for their protection. Wise men should always keep it in mind that it is past Karma and past Karma alone that brings in to man as its result either happiness or misery. Neither effort nor skill, neither learning nor manliness will be of any use to him in this matter. Knowing this full well, wise men place their body at the disposal of their past Karma, sport in Brahma pleasure, and drink deep the nectar of undisturbed peace. The non-self is a mere phenomenon and it requires no man's effort to nourish it. Just as a man thinks of no ships after crossing the ocean and arriving at his own place, so a Sannyāsin never thinks of his body after crossing the ocean of Samsāra or chain of birth and death by his true knowledge of the nature of Brahman.

Nor is there any objective pursuit for the worldly happiness of a Brahma-knower; and worldly pleasure has no attraction for him. He knows full well that the world consisting of the earth, air, water, and other things is a mere appearance shining on the basis of Brahman, and just as a diseased woman has no attraction for a youthful physician, so the phenomenal world has no attraction for a Brahma-knower. The world is like a painting of Rama, Sita, and their followers. There are persons who are affected with the painting as if it were real and are moved to tears at the sight. But when they are told that it is a painting, they recover their courage and keep calm. So a man is affected with the world before he knows the true nature of Brahman; and after knowing it, he enjoys the internal pleasure of calm peace without being disturbed in any way at the sight of the world.

If the objective pursuit of a man is meant for heavenly happiness, then the question to be put is as follows:—

Is that heavenly happiness that which is found in the Svarga world? Or is it for emancipation? Or is it for physical and mental purity? It cannot be for happiness in Svarga, for that world is as unreal and transient as any other worldly happiness to the knower of Brahman. Nor can it be Mōksha, for Mōksha is attained only with knowledge of Brahman and never at all with the performance of any rites, Vedic or non-Vedic. Likewise, it is not for the purity of the Ātman, or for the purity of the intellect, or for the purity of the body. For the Ātman who is identical with Brahman is ever and eternally pure, like fire, air, and the sky, and it is sheer madness to attempt this purification. Viṣṇu, Śiva and other gods have done innumerable unrighteous acts for the good of the world and yet in virtue of their true knowledge of the nature of the one being have maintained their purity. When such is the case, there is no necessity to attempt the purification of the Ātman. Nor can it be for the purification of the intellect, for the intellect of a Brahma-knower must necessarily be pure for the reason that no man can attain the true knowledge of the nature of Brahman, unless his intellect is first of all rendered pure of all its vitiated thoughts. Nor can it be for the purity of the body, for with the true knowledge of the nature of Brahman the purity of the body is also brought about. There are things which are naturally pure; a few other things are rendered pure, when acted upon with purificatory means; and some other things are rendered pure, when they are brought in contact with some other things. But the body which is full of urine and other impure things can be rendered pure neither by bathing, nor by giving gifts, neither by prayer nor by muttering *mantras*, neither by the sprinkling of sacred water, nor by fasts. Only that dirt which the body has got by coming in contact with some external things can be removed by bathing, or by giving gifts or by prayer. That dirt which is natural to the body cannot at all be removed even by hundreds of baths, gifts or prayers. The outer surface of the body can, however, be cleansed with water; the mind with truth;

and the intellect with contemplation on Viṣṇu,—so say the Smritis. This kind of cleanliness is merely conventional, but not at all real. Whoever bathes himself in the eternal flood of Brahma-knowledge can cleanse not only his body and mind, but also his intellect and conscience. It is only the knower of Brahman that is not touched with the sin of physical, sensual, and intellectual acts. Bathing, worship, recitation of sacred verses, or prayers can be of no use to those who are immersed in the flood of Brahma-knowledge. For those who have been always bathing in the eternal flood of Brahma-knowledge, there is neither fear from birth or death, nor contact with merit, demerit or misery. There is no better purificatory thing for a man than the knowledge of the Ātman or Brahman. There is no better happiness than Brahma-ānanda. That cleanliness which Brahma-knowledge can effect can be acquired neither by a million of baths or sacrifices, nor by tens of millions of gifts or performance of religious rites. Just as a pot is cleansed by being burnt with fire, so a man can be cleansed only by the fire of Brahma-knowledge.

Self-regarding and other-regarding Acts

There are some who say that though a man should not, according to the teachings of the Vēdānta, undertake any work in his own self-interest, he may, with credit to himself, undertake work for the good of others. Many men are said to have attained heaven by doing good work for the good of others. The doing of good work is enjoined even upon wise men in order to lead the world by setting an example. The Bhagavadgītā says, addressing Arjuna, that in order to lead the world he should do the work assigned to him. People usually do whatever a man in high position does; and believe whatever he believes. While common people do work, aspiring for its results, a wise man should do work, with no aspiration for its results and only with the desire of setting an example to others. No wise man should behave so as to arouse doubts in the mind of ignorant people devoted to

work. If this teaching of the Bhagavadgītā is followed, the purpose of Sacred Books and the Śāstras will be fulfilled. Otherwise, who will follow the Sacred Books?

This is all very well said, and it is true to some extent. For the question is whether that teaching is meant to be followed by those who have realized truth by self-experience or by those who depend for their knowledge upon their senses and upon the teachings of others. It cannot be for those who have realized truth, for they have rejected the world as phenomenal and it is impossible for them to act upon what is phenomenal. It is only meant for those who with firm belief in castes, sects and religious orders think that something is their own proper work and that they ought to do it. Work for their own good as well as for the good of others interests only those who are actuated by desire to promote the well-being not only of their own body and intellect, but also that of others. A wise man, on the other hand, has no such belief and is free from all duties. An infant or a mad man is never expected to do any work, nor does he perform any work, as laid down. Likewise, a Brahma-knower has once for all abandoned both his egoism and the world. How can he, therefore, undertake any work either for his own good or for the good of others? The cause of activity lies in the desire for the well-being of the body, in the desire for the results of work, in the knowledge of the nature of work, in having fear from calamities otherwise, and in earnest devotion to work. When a wise man is, as he ought to be, devoid of all these qualifications, there is evidently no incentive for him to undertake any work. For when there is no cause, there can be no effect. When a man firmly believes that Brahman alone is real and that the world is only phenomenal, and when he truly believes that all objective happiness is phenomenal and transient and is not worthy of a wise man's thought and care, how can he have desire to pursue after will-o'-the-wisp? No man will attempt to quench the painted fire flames surrounding a man in a picture painted on a wall.

There is no difference between a painting on the wall and this world which is as mutable and changing as the painting and is as it were a picture on the wall-like Eternal Being called Brahman. When both are appearances like the magical mango-tree of a magician, they cannot but be unreal and false. How can they attract the knower of Brahman to act upon them either in his own interest or in the interest of others? Let there be a hundred or a thousand incentives for an ignorant man to act; they will have no effect on the knower of the true nature of Brahman. It has already been stated that when there is the conviction that the world is transient and unreal, there can be no incentive for a man who knows the true nature of Brahman and who is always merged in Brahman. How can he who looks upon the world as Brahman think of it as a separate existence to attract him to act upon it? Just as a man looking at the full moon never notices the blackish colour appearing in the moon, so the knower of Brahman who looks upon the world as a halo of Brahman, its eternal solid basis, will never care for it. Whoever attempts to do a work thinking that it is his own work can never be regarded as the knower of Brahman. Whoever has the conviction that the Ātman, signified by the word "I", is Brahman and that the world is also Brahman in its real form and merges himself in the eternal without being affected by the phenomenal world is called a knower of Brahman. Whoever has concentrated his mind in contemplating on the Ātman as identical with Brahman and has thus got rid of all false notions concerning the world, his body, mind and intellect, and is habituated to see Brahman in front, behind, to the right, to the left, above and below, can have no world to teach and set an example for its guidance. Just as emperorship and beggary cannot be found together in a man, so Brahma-knowledge and devotion to social, religious and other work cannot be found together in a man. Hence, there can be neither self-regarding or other-regarding work for the knower of Brahman. The Vedas also say that whoever has interest

in his body, caste or religious order does not at all know his own true form, the Eternal Brahman. So much for a man who has realized Brahma-knowledge.

Now concerning the man who depends for his knowledge upon the teachings of the Śāstras and learned men. There are two kinds of such persons: one who has renounced the world after learning, but has not as yet realized Brahma-knowledge; and another who is still a householder. Of these two, the first cannot at all engage himself in social or religious work. If he has not realized Brahma-knowledge even after his study of the Vēdānta together with the knowledge of the unreality of the world, his duty is to revise his study again and again, but never to engage himself in any social or religious work. So long as he realizes in his own experience the identity of his Ātman with Brahman, he has to control both his internal and external senses and having complete peace has to study the Upanishads carefully between the lines. This is what Śankarāchārya has clearly stated in his commentary on the Brahma-sūtras and the Upanishads. This kind of repeated study of the Sūtras and the Upanishads is to make him thorough in his conviction and enable him to get rid of his bondage, that is, the chain of birth and death. Accordingly, he has no time for any worldly activity. It is not only unnecessary, but also evidently harmful to him. It is unnecessary for him, for he has no other interest than Brahma-knowledge, and because in his view worldly activity can do no good either to himself or to others. It is harmful to him, because it makes his bondage firmer and firmer, instead of loosening it. The more a man engages himself in worldly activity, the greater will be his attachment to the world, his body, his intellect, and other non-self. The distinction of work, agent, and instruments of work involved in the thought that "This is the work which I have to do with this means," destroys his Brahma-knowledge once for all. It should not be said that bathing, cleanliness, prayer, contemplation, and begging for food are the duties prescribed for Sannyāsins; and that the observance of duties is as

meritorious as their breach is sinful. For those are not at all the duties of a Sannyāsin, whether he is advanced in his studies and knowledge or just initiated in them. For Sannyāsa means not only abandoning the world, but also all kinds of social and religious work. The Upanishads say that he should give up all kinds of work inclusive of religious rites, and that he should devote himself to the realization of Brahma-knowledge, having complete control over his senses. They are the duties of a man who is not a Sannyāsin ; for it is laid down in the Smritis that after having renounced the world and all worldly activity, a Sannyāsin should devote himself to the hearing, understanding and contemplating on the meaning of the Upanishads. Otherwise, his Sannyāsa will not only be useless, but also render him sinful. Also, even if a householder comes in contact with a good teacher of Vēdānta he is sure to renounce the world together with all his religious duties.

It should not be said that past action might be unfavourable for Sannyāsa and Brahma-knowledge and quite favourable for bondage and the observance of social activities and religious rites. For when Brahma-knowledge, acquired from the study of the Upanishads, is strong and when there is a strong conviction that the world is unreal and false, and also when there is a strong desire for emancipation, the result of past actions will not be so strong as to involve him in further activity in this birth also. Only the conviction that the world is unreal is enough to prevent him from marrying a wife and observing social and religious duties. Though a man is very thirsty, he will not attempt to find water in mirage, if he knows that it is mirage. Hence when a householder has completed his course of Vēdāntic studies and understood that the world is unreal in its own form, but real as Brahman, its true basis and when he is also desirous of attaining emancipation, he should at once renounce the world and all kinds of work in it, and devote himself to contemplation. For such a man, it is impossible to take religious work even for the purpose of setting an

example to others, since his conviction in the unreality of the world has once for all driven out of his mind all incentive for work.

If this is so, then it may be questioned, of what use are the Vedic and Śāstraic texts which have laid down religious rites to be strictly observed by man? We answer this question as follows:—Those rites are meant only for him who has come to know of the unreality of the world and of the reality of Brahman only by hearing of the Vēdāntic texts and has not realized the same by his own experience, besides being actuated by no strong desire for emancipation. Such a man is obliged to remain and live as a householder and observe the duties laid down for him. He should at the same time distinguish between the body with its limbs and the Ātman, and consider that it is the body that does the work, but not the Ātman who is devoid of all activity. By acting in this way he will set an example to the world at large. Just as a man infers the existence of fire by looking at smoke rising up from a chimney, and just as a man infers by mathematical reasoning the time of eclipses, so a man may, by studying sacred books and by reasoning, come to the conclusion that the world is unreal and may not at all be convinced himself of the validity of that theory by his own experience. Only such a man of mere book-learning is a candidate for whom works on theology and religious rites are written. They are not at all meant for a Brahma-knower, who has realized in his own experience the true nature of Brahman and the unreality of the world.

Some are of opinion that according to the Bhagavadgītā he who on the strength of his Vēdāntic studies and experience believes his own Ātman to be the Ātman of all, and who has kept his mind and senses under his control will not be affected with the effect of social, religious, or any other activity, provided that he thinks that it is the body that does the work but not the Ātman. Hence it follows that he who has realized Brahma-knowledge should also observe religious work. It is wrong to say that the social and religious duties laid

down in the Śāstras are meant only for him who has not realized in his own experience the truth or validity of the Vēdāntic knowledge which he has acquired from learned teachers and books. For in the verse of the Bhagavadgītā quoted above the epithet "who believes his own Ātman to be the Ātman of all" cannot be deservedly applied to him whose knowledge is merely bookish.

True, that all the epithets used in that verse are applicable only to a man who has realized Brahma-knowledge. Still it should be borne in mind that those verses do not at all apply to a man who has attained Brahma-knowledge and remains like an emancipated man; but only to a man who is about to realize that knowledge. For, from the viewpoint of the former there is neither the world nor any other individual in bondage; the whole world with all its animate and inanimate contents has taken the form of Brahman. Accordingly, he has nothing else to act upon or to act for. But the latter has not attained the position of the former; and he still finds the world with other individuals as distinguished from himself. Just as a man looking at the pictures of men and women painted on a wall distinguishes between the wall and the pictures of men and women on it, so the latter still sees the world with many individuals; while the former sees only Brahman and nothing else. Just as a man knowing the beauty of a pearl comes to know that all pearls are similar in beauty; and just as a boy measuring the length between any two finger joints with a thread comes to know the measure of all finger-joints, so a man who has realized Brahman and has attained emancipation alike looks upon the whole world with all its contents as having been dissolved in Brahman and as having become Brahman like himself. Such being the case how can a Brahma-knower attempt to do work for the good of others? Activity is the function of a man who is in bondage of the world, while inactivity is the function or the nature of an emancipated man. Where is the world and the possibility of setting an example for others in the world by his own activity, for a man who in virtue of his true

knowledge acquired through constant study of the Upanishads and contemplation has once for all got rid of his false notions about the world and its contents and has attained the stage of remaining identical with one universal Being ?

It should not be said that just as he works for the maintenance of his body, so he might do religious duties as well. For with regard to eating and excretion, neither any distinctive notion of place, time, objects, and personal positions, nor the feeling of attachment to caste, sect, nor the sense of purity or impurity, and not even an egoistic reference to the body as " I " are required. The conduct of a true Brahma-knower is like that of an infant, or a mad man. They, however, see eating and other physical acts; but merged as Brahma-knowers are in the identity of their individual being with the universal Being, they can scarcely be conscious of religious or social duties. Just as in sneezing neither desire nor any determined attempt is required, so in the act of alimentation, a Brahma-knower entertains no desire nor makes any determined attempt. When he has got rid of such dual notion as " I, and this ", and remains as identical with Brahman with no feeling of his individuality, who can make him act upon the world ? For only when there is the distinctive notion of " I " entertained by him, there is the possibility of his regarding himself as an agent, and when there is the distinctive notion of " this ", there is the possibility of his identifying that " this " as his work. In the absence of such dual notion, how can he be expected to act in any way ? He remains quite indifferent to all and in all.

The Ṣmritis like the *Bhagavadgītā* say that a Brahma-knower has nothing to do, to speak of or to think of. He has to remain merged in the Ātman. Keeping silent like a sage, sitting in contemplation, purity of self, annihilation of the will, complete control over the senses, and finding his own Ātman in all beings,—these are the six characteristics of a true Brahma-knower. These characteristics cannot remain side by side with worldly activity. It is true that the Smriti says that if he does any work, he will not be affected with its

effect. That work is no other than that which concerns the well-being of the body. It is eating, excretion, washing and other almost involuntary acts which are incidental to the body. This is clearly stated in the Upanishads :—A Brahma-knower is not affected with the effect of the work done for the sake of the body. The work is explained in the next sentence in the same work as follows :—Seeing, hearing, touching, smelling, eating, walking, sleeping, breathing, talking, excreting, handling a thing, opening the eyes, and closing the eyes. With the exception of these thirteen kinds of action, a Brahma-knower cannot possibly employ himself in any other work without exercising his will. The thirteen kinds of action can, however, be permuted in a hundred or thousand ways with no harm to himself. By saying that just as a lotus-leaf is not touched or tainted with the water in which it is floating, so a Brahma-knower is not touched or tainted with the almost involuntary acts purely related to the body, the Upanishad emphatically denies all other social or religious work for a Brahma-knower. If the philosophical principle expounded in the Bhagavadgītā and other works is carefully considered, the same conclusion will be arrived at. The Bhagavadgītā says that there are two ways of attaining good: one is through the path of knowledge meant for Brahma-knowers, and the other is through the observance of social and religious work, as laid down in the sacred books, for the good of men having an inclination to do work. Stating thus the same work goes on to say regarding the first course, as follows :—For him who is content only with self-knowledge, who finds pleasure only in the Ātman, and who has nothing else to satisfy him except the Ātman, there is no work to be done. The Vedas are meant only for those who are either good and peaceful, or who are always active, ambitious, or who are dull and indiscreet. These are the effects of the three qualities, *satva*, *rajas* and *tamas* respectively. Satva means peace and goodness ; rajas energy and fury ; and tamas ignorance and carelessness. The Vedas have laid down three kinds of work corresponding to the three qualities. Arjuna

is required to get rid of the three qualities. He is asked not to mind the effect due to the pairs, such as, heat and cold, happiness and misery, and so on. It also says that a Brahma-knower is wide awake and attentive to that which other people regard as dark night in order to sleep over and not to mind it. A Brahma-knower should have his senses, mind, and intellect merged in the Ātman who is identical with the universal Being called Brahman. He has to make no distinction between a learned Brahman, and a cow, or an elephant, or a dog, or a cooker of dog's flesh. Such a man deserves to be called a Brahma-knower and will have no work of any kind to do. Consistently with this teaching in the beginning and the middle, the Bhagavadgītā concludes in the last chapter, asking Arjuna to abandon all work and merge himself in Kriṣṇa that is Brahman, identical with the Ātman. When following the principle of interpretation that the beginning and the close of a thesis should be consistent with each other, the teaching of the Bhagavadgītā is carefully considered, it will be evident that for a Brahma-knower no work of any sort is laid down. On the ground of the statement made in the Bhagavadgītā that if a Brahma-knower slays men or destroys the world, he will not be tainted with the sin of that work, it should not, however, be said that a Brahma-knower ought to do work laid down for him. What is really meant by saying that by doing a horrible or agreeable, and good or bad work, a Brahma-knower is not at all tainted with the sin of that work, is only the excellence of Brahma-knowledge and not that he should do any work, good or bad. When it is borne in mind that when doer, deed, and instruments of doing have all become one, how can a Brahma-knower who remains alone without a second do work? Work is possible only when there is the sense of duality. As to the thirteen kinds of acts referred to above, they are all almost involuntary, and they go on without any willing effort on the part of the Brahma-knower, like that of a man unconsciously scratching the itching part of his body in deep sleep.

Nor is Karma meant for a man who is initiated in Brahma-knowledge, and who is trying to advance in it. For, his one aim ought to be uninterrupted effort to merge himself in contemplation on Brahman. Accordingly, he will have no time to spare for worldly activity. If he engages himself in work he will not only fail in acquiring Brahma-knowledge, but also be involved in bondage.

If, however, a man has attained Brahma-knowledge and has the power of helping others without any harm to himself, he may take up social service and help his fellow-beings like Visvāmitra, Vyāsa, Agastya and other ancient sages. But when a man is unable to save himself, it is quite impossible for him to attempt the rescue of others from bondage. The Smriti also says that a man should save his Ātman with the aid of the Ātman himself and never allow himself to fall into bondage; that Ātman can become either a friend or an enemy to himself. He who has conquered his Ātman with Ātman will have the friendship of Ātman. He who has lost sight of his Ātman will have his Ātman inimical to himself. What is meant by saying that one should save one's own Ātman with the aid of Ātman is that since one's own Ātman has fallen a victim to a series of births and deaths, one should understand the true nature of Ātman, and by constant contemplation on the identity of the universal Ātman or Brahman with the individual Ātman one should extricate oneself from the tendency of identifying oneself with the body, the senses, or the intellect. Not allowing oneself or one's Ātman to fall into bondage means that one should not allow one's own senses and intellect to drag the Ātman towards the objective world. Falling into bondage means the loss of one's own stay in one's own nature and disappearance or appearance otherwise. One's suffering is due to one's ignorance of the nature of one's Ātman; in extricating oneself from this suffering true knowledge of the real nature of Ātman is the only means; and never can wife, sons, brothers, or the funeral and other rites performed by them release one's Ātman from bondage. Just as one is not cured of one's disease by the medical

treatment given to another, so one's release is not effected by the Yoga-practice of another. Hence, it follows that Ātman alone can help Ātman. If forgetting to attend to one's own Ātman, one turns one's attention to the objective world, then one becomes an enemy to oneself and fails to acquire release.

Just as it is better for a man to keep quiet than to look at the painting on a wall for a long time and suffer from pain in the eyes due to exertion, just as keeping quiet in a cool place is better than sitting in a hot place, just as sleeping is better than sitting in a cool place, and just as deep sleep is better than mere lying down on bed, so for a Brahma-knower keeping the senses inactive is better than employing them in pursuit of the objective world; better than this is the abandonment of all thought of the world; better than this even is the confinement of the mind to the thought of Brahman always and everywhere.

Avidya is the Cause of Bondage

Avidyā is wrong or mistaken knowledge and not ignorance or absence of knowledge. Mistaking a rope for a snake is wrong or mistaken notion and such notions are termed Avidyā. It is positive and is a wrong form of knowledge itself. As a form of knowledge, it is not outside knowledge. This Avidyā is of two kinds :—(1) covering and (2) impellent. The former covers or hides things, like darkness and makes them disappear or appear otherwise. The latter is of the form of sub-consciousness and is possessed of the three qualities, Satva, Rajas and Tamas. It is called Sātvika, when it impels a man to do good and peaceful acts; Rājasa when it drives a man to do energetic and heroic acts; Tāmasa when it makes a man dull, inactive and indiscreet. This power of sub-consciousness called Avidyāvikshepa drags man out towards the objective world and makes him think of himself as a doer, enjoyer, or sufferer and renders him unconscious of the true nature of the Ātman. Āvarana or covering Avidyā is got rid of by careful thought and investigation.

The latter is got rid of by Samādhi or concentration of mind on Brahman. Since both are pseudo-forms of knowledge, they can be rectified or removed by knowledge itself. Wherever there is knowledge there is also pseudo-knowledge. Knowledge itself acts sometimes rightly and on other occasions wrongly. The wrong proceeding is set right by knowledge itself in its right aspect. Since wrong thought originated with man, it cannot be said when and how it came into existence. Hence the pseudo-form of knowledge or consciousness called Avidyā is said to be beginningless. Since the right form of knowledge can remove the wrong form of knowledge by right thinking and investigation, it has an end. Just as a piece of cloth coming in contact with a fragrant thing retains the smell, so the former experience of things called Vāsanā remains in sub-consciousness inherent in man. This is the cause of hope after hope arising in man. Hope is the cause of desire; and desire is the cause of all worldly activity, which is the cause of bondage. Hence, it is the sole duty of man to get rid of this Vāsanā.

When sub-conscious knowledge remains in its own form with no external objects which are its own pseudo-forms, then to think of emancipation, that is, remaining in the pure form of consciousness, is an accomplished fact. The body, hands, water, air, and other material objects are all pseudo-forms of Brahman, whose characteristics are eternal existence, knowledge or consciousness, and unmixed happiness. When Brahman, the underlying essence of all pseudo-forms, the contents of the world, is correctly comprehended, then the distinction due to the pseudo-forms covering the Ātman of a dog, a cooker of a dog, a learned man, a good man and a bad man will all vanish and all will be consciousness and nothing else. To a Brahma-knower pseudo-forms like a tiger and other cruel beasts like those dreamt of in a dream cause no fear whatever. The power of Vāsanā or accumulated experience of past births is so strong that though Brahman alone underlies the differentiated world, the notion of the world alone haunts the mind of man. If Vāsanā is got rid of, the

world which is the effect of Vāsanā entirely vanishes. Samâdhi can put an end to Vāsanā.

The Nature of Samadhi

Samādhi means cessation of worldly activity or ceasing to act in the world. It does not mean concentration of mind on an object, as in Yoga. Cessation of activity means withdrawing the senses and the mind from all names and forms constituting the world. Just as a man foolishly talks saying "I, thou; this is a Brāhman, that man is a Śūdra, and so on", so a wise man should not talk of distinctions consisting in names and forms.

Destruction of Vasana

If, as stated above, a Brahma-knower means a person who looks upon the whole world as Brahman in reality, why should he not think and talk of apparent distinctions due to conventional names and forms? Why should he hold his tongue and shut his eyes? Merely by his seeing things and talking of them, neither the world which is a mere phenomenon of Brahman, its real basis, nor Brahman, whose nature it is to appear variously and in the form of many things is altered. The philosophical distinction of dualism and non-dualism is a useless literary device. If the whole universe is in reality Brahman and Brahman alone, why should a Brahma-knower cease to talk of the universe, which is Brahman's apparent form.

It is true that the whole universe is Brahman in reality and that the world is merely the forms in which Brahman appears to us. Such being the case there seems to be no harm in talking of the forms. But if carefully considered, a Brahma-knower will surely bring upon himself a good deal of harm by talking of names and forms. For such talk as 'This is a Brāhman, that is a Śūdra, this is a cow, that is a dog, etc.' cannot be made at all, unless the name, colour, and genus or category of each thing as distinguished from another is taken into consideration. The distinctive notion of everything in the world is due to past experience of the thing itself.

Experience means impressions of things stored up in memory or consciousness, and is called Vāsanā in the Vēdāntic philosophy. Hence it follows that without the aid of this Vāsanā there is no possibility of talking of things to each other among men. Besides, talking involves egoism and also the distinctions of "mine and thine". In other words, Vāsanā or distinctive notions of things stored up in memory develops the notion of duality and destroys the rise and growth of Advaitic or non-dualistic truth. In truth, it is Vāsanā that is the cause of the body and of man's bondage.

The Triple Body

Man has three different bodies one within the other. They are: (1) the gross body, (2) the subtle body, and (3) the causal body. The gross body is the visible body depending for its growth on food; the subtle body is that which is made of the senses and sense-impressions or ideas; and the causal body is that which is made of purely wrong form of knowledge called Avidyā explained above. This causal body is got rid of by true knowledge, that is, the knowledge of the identity of the universal Ātman or Brahman with individual Ātman. The gross body comes to an end only when the result of past actions is completely enjoyed and exhausted. The subtle body is got rid of by constant thinking of Brahman. Just as a tree is desroyed by the destruction of its root, so the subtle body is destroyed only when the Vāsanā which constitutes it is radically uprooted. Its destruction is possible only when the senses are turned inwards away from the world.

THE SANGAM AGE PROBLEM

BY A. DURAISWAMI

THE problem of determining the period in which the Sangam literature in Tamil flourished is still exercising the most acute of South Indian historians. Two recent discoveries of note would seem to take us a little nearer a true solution.

That veteran scholar, Pandit Mr. Raghava Aiyangar, has advanced, in the first issue of the *Kalaimakal*, a very plausible, though bold, theory that Karikala Chola who, according to the *Silappadikaram*, conquered Magadha and Vajra, must have carried his victorious arms up to the Himalayas, marched at the head of a Tamil confederacy towards Tibet through the passes leading from Sikkin and that the mountains which he reached came in consequence to be called the Chola range,—a name current to this day—but that the snows descended and prevented his reaching his goal. The Pandit's usual wealth of learning leaves little scope for refutation. He feels inclined to place this invasion in the period which preceded the Third Sangam; though he assigns no specific reasons for this view, his instinct is so sound that we may well assume that further research will only corroborate his view. This discovery of a Chola's march on Tibet is an important land-mark in Indian history.

Passing in review the various statements in Tamil literature about the invasions made by Tamilian kings against North India, Mr. T. G. Aravamutha Aiyangar had pointed out some years ago in his book on the Sangam Age that Karikalam incised the tiger-seal on the Himalayas, defeated the kings of Magadha and Vajra and secured an alliance with the king of Avanti; and on a careful examination of the course of north Indian history he opined that this and other similar invasions could have taken place only in one or more of three periods,—the first from 208 to 184 B.C., the second from 148 B.C. to the beginning of the first century

A.D., and the third, in the third century A.D. His conclusion would apply equally to the theory of Pandit Mr. Raghava Aiyangar,—which, indeed, differs from his in that it places the Chola at the head of a Tamil confederacy and takes him across the Himalayas into Tibet,—and, therefore, both these writers may be taken to be agreed on the periods in which the invasions might have been possible.

Mr. Aravamutha Aiyangar had gone a step further in that he argued that a passage in the *Kalingathupparani* suggested that Karikal conquered a king known as Maukahari, that we do know of a Maukhari dynasty reigning in Magadha in the periods in which these invasions could be placed and that therefore the *Kalingathupparani* must have preserved accurately an old tradition current among the Cholas to the effect that the king of Magadha vanquished by Karikal was a Maukhari. This suggestion regarding the identity of the king of Magadha defeated by Karikal was strictly unnecessary for the determination of the point which Mr. Aravamutha Aiyangar sought to establish, but he drew pointed attention to it as affording some corroboration of his theory. Some scholars have considered the suggestion to be too recklessly based on a mere identity in names, but a newly discovered inscription seems to justify his courage and vindicate the sureness of his instinct.

On a boulder near Chandravalli, a place to the west of the fortified hill of Chitaldrug in the Mysore State, Dr. M. H. Krishna, the State Archæologist, discovered quite recently an old and weather-worn Brahmi inscription, in the Prakrit language, which records that a tank near by was 'constructed by Mayurasarman of the Kadambas who has defeated Trekuta, Abhire, Pallava, Pariyatrika, Sakasthana, Sayindaka, Punata and Mokari' (Mysore Archl. Dept., *Ann. Rep. 1929)*. The allusion to the defeat of the Mokari, that is, the Maukhari is what gives this inscription its importance,— especially because Dr. Krishna seems to be totally unaware of Mr. Aravamutha Aiyangar's suggestion about a Maukhari being defeated by a South Indian king. On a learned

discussion of the inscription, Dr. Krishna concludes that the inscription must have been incised about 258 A.D., that Punnata and Sayindaka formed parts of the present Mysore territory, Pallava was to its immediate north beyond the Vindhyas, and that Mokari too lay north of some mountain range but more towards the east. This discovery would therefore seem to confirm the view of Mr. Aravamutha Aiyangar that the Maukharis could have been defeated by a king of the far distant south.

But it has been thought by some who refuse to believe in the valour of the South Indian kings that the Maukharis defeated by Karikal must have been on the borders of the Tamil country, and some support for this view might be sought in the circumstances that the inscription mentions them immediately after Punnata. Mr. Aravamutha Aiyangar had himself pointed to a Mukari-Nadu in the Tamil country and to a number of Mogalis in the Telugu and the Kanarese countries. But it must be conceded that the inscription makes no attempt to range the names in order of geographical propinquity and it must also be remembered that if Mayura-sarman could have conquered Sakasthana and Pariyatrika beyond the Vindhyas he could have had no great difficulty in vanquishing the Maukharis who lay to the east of them. Another important circumstance ought not to be allowed to escape our notice. We cannot afford to forget that while the *Silappadikaram* takes Karikala north to Magadha, and, therefore, to the Maukharis, and even beyond to the confines of Tibet, no record or tradition takes him to a Mogat or a Mukari-Nadu. The *Silappadikaram* being much closer in point of time to Karikala than we, the authority of that work must be preferred to any conjectures that we may now indulge in.

The palæography of the inscription seems to contain elements in it which may be later than 258 A.D., but, as Dr. Krishna points out, the period is one of transition in palæography. But even if we feel inclined to assign it to a century or so later, there is still the important circumstance

that about 350 or 400 A.D. the fact stood accepted that Mayurasarma had defeated a Maukhari. The inscription too does not profess to record a contemporary event, and so, even if the palæography point to a later date for the inscription, we need not forget that the inscription might refer to an event of the past and that Mayurasarman might have belonged to a date earlier than the inscribing of the record. The attribution of Mayurasarman and, therefore, his victory over the Maukhari, to be about 258 A.D., seems to be fairly satisfactory.

If about 258 A.D. Mayurasarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, could have defeated the Maukharis, why should we feel any doubt about the possibility of Karikala having invaded Magadha, vanquished a Maukhari and marched towards Tibet ? Karikala might have been earlier than Mayurasarman,—but the two new discoveries seem to confirm the *Silappadikaram* and corroborate the *Kalingat-tupparani*, and probabilise the theories that before 300 A.D. Karikala had defeated a Maukhari of Magadha and marched upon Tibet.

The age of the Sangam would thus be anterior to 300 A.D. and its literature must be accounted the product of perhaps the most glorious period of Tamil history.

THE DATE OF THE ELEVENTH PARIPĀḌAL

BY K. G. SANKAR

THE *Paripāḍal*, which belongs to the *Eṭṭuttohai* collection, is of unique interest in that it enables us to fix the Sangham age accurately by a careful consideration of its astronomical data. The data are contained in the following opening lines of the eleventh *Paripāḍal* of Nallanduvanār :—

விரிகதிர் மதிய மொடு வியல் விசும்பு புணர்ப்ப
வெரிசடையெழில் வேழந் தலையெனக்கீழிருந்து
தெருவிடைப்படுத்த மூன்றொன்பதிற்றிருக்கையு
ளுருகெழு வெள்ளிவந்தேற்றியல் சேர
வருடையை ப்படிமகன் வாய்ப்பப்பொருடெரி
புந்தி மிதுனம் பொருந்தப்புலர் விடிய
லங்கியுயர்நிற்ப வந்தணன் பங்குவி
னில்லத் துணைக்குப் பாலெய்த விறையமன்
வில்லிற் கடைமகர மேவப்பாம்பொல்லை
மதிய மறைய வருநாளில் வாய்ந்த
பொதியின் முனிவன் புரைவரைக்கீறி
மிதுனமடைய விரிகதிர் வேனி
லெதிர் வரவு மாரியியை கெனவிவ் வாற்றுற்
புரை கெழுசையம் பொழி மழை தாழ—

In this passage, the actual positions of the leading planets and stars are given as observed at day-break on a day at the beginning of a rainy season. The first three lines inform us that the heavens were divided into three *vīthīs* named after the *rāśis* indicated by *Eri* (Krittikā, whose God is Agni), *Śaḍai* (Ārdrā the asterism of Śiva) and *Veḷam* (Rēvatī or Bharaṇī, whose *yoni* is the elephant). Parimelaḻahar, commenting on them, says that by Krittikā is meant Rishabha, which includes ¾ Krittikā segment. But this assumes without proof that Nallanduvanār used a Rēvatyādi zodiac, and it is besides strange that he should have indicated a *rāśi* by a *nakshatra* segment, part of which was in another *rāśi* (Mesha). We must therefore infer that Krittikā, Ārdrā and Rēvatī or

Bharaṇī are the asterisms so named, and not the segments, and that they were in Rishaba (30° to 60°), Mithuna (60° to 90°) and Mēsha (0° to 30°) respectively. The longitudes of these asterisms are given in several *siddhāntas*, but the only dated *siddhānta* is the *Brahma Siddhānta* of Śaka 550=628 A.C. According to it, the polar longitudes of Rēvatī, Bharaṇī, Krittikā and Ārdrā are 0°, 20°, 37° 28′ and 67° respectively. The *yōgatārā* of Rēvatī is identified with ζ Piscium, whose longitude in 1690 A.C. was, according to Flamsteed's *Catalogus Brittanicus*, 15° 32′. If therefore by *Veḷam* we mean Rēvatī, it could not have been in Mēsha before 628 A.C. and the *Paripāḍal* would have to be dated then or thereafter only. But this is not necessary, as by *Veḷam* Bharaṇī may have been meant. The *yōgatārā* of Bharaṇī is identified with 35 Arietis (42° 36′ in 1690 A.C.) or with 41 Arietis (43° 52′ in 1690 A.C.). The true longitude of Bharaṇī, corresponding to its polar longitude of 20° is 24° 41′, and its precession in 1062 years (from 628 A.C. to 1690 A.C.) is therefore 17° 55′ or 19° 11′. Since these give us the rate of sidereal precession as 1 in every $59\frac{1}{4}$ or $55\frac{1}{3}$ years of which the former accords more closely with the true rate of 1° in 61 years, as determined by Mr. L. D. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai, we have to identify Bharaṇī with 35 Arietis only. Accepting this identification, we may infer that Bharaṇī could not have been in Mēsha before $24° 41' \times 59\frac{1}{4} - 627 = 835$ B.C. or after $(30° - 24° 41') \times 59\frac{1}{4} + 628 = 943$ A.C. This period of 1,777 years (835 B.C. to 943 A.C.) is too wide for our purpose. But Krittikā and Ārdrā will help us to define the limits more closely. The *yōgatārā* of Krittikā is identified with Alcyone (55° 40′ in 1690 A.C.) and its true longitude is 38° 58′. Its precession in 1,062 years is therefore 16° 42′, yielding a rate of 1° in 63 3/5 years, and it could not have been in Rishabha before $628 - 8° 58' \times 63\ 3/5 = 58$ A.C. The *yōgatārā* of Ārdrā is usually identified with α Orionis (84° 25′ in 1690 A.C.) and its true longitude is 65° 5′. Its precession in 1,062 years is therefore 19° 20′, yielding a rate of 1° in 55 years. But this rate is too wide of the true rate (1° in 61 years), and the

latitude of ∝ Orionis is 16° 4′ S., while the polar latitude of Ārdrā is given as 11° S. The *yōgatārā* of Ārdrā may therefore be more correctly identified with 135 Tauri of 9° 10′ S. latitude and true longitude of 83° 20′ in 1690 A.C. Its precession in 1,062 years would be 18° 15′, yielding a more probable rate of 1° in 58 1/5 years, and it could not have been in Mithuna before 628 – 5° 5′×58 1/5=332 A.C. Even calculating at the true rate of 1° in 61 years, Ārdrā could not have been in Mithuna before 628 – 5° 5′×61=318 A.C. Putting together the inferences from the positions of Rēvatī or Bharaṇī, Krittikā and Ārdrā in Mēsha, Rishabha and Mithuna respectively, we may conclude that *c.* 300 A.C. is the earlier limit for the date of the *Eleventh Paripāḍal.* On the other hand, it is certain that *c.* 700 A.C. is the later limit, as according to the Cinnamanūr plates the founding of the Sangham and the victory at Talai-ālankānam were achieved by ancestors of Māravarman Arikesarī. The *Paripāḍal* must therefore be dated between *c.* 300 and *c.* 700 A.C. It may also be pointed out that according to the *Paripāḍal* the *nakṣatras* were not Krittikādi, as in that case Rēvatī or Bharaṇī should be in Mīna, not Mēsha.

We are then told that Venus was in Rishabha (30° to 60°), Mars in Mēsha (0° to 30°) and Mercury in Mithuna (60° to 90°). Then we have the phrase அங்கிஉயர்நிற்ப. Parimelaḻahar says this means that Krittikā was in the zenith. If this is right, the Sun was in 90°+39°=129°, and Venus and Mercury, whose maximum distances from the Sun are 48° and 26°, cannot have longitudes less than 81° and 103°, which are at least 21° and 13° beyond the required positions. *Uyar* cannot, therefore, mean ‘zenith’ but only ‘visibly high up’. Again, *Agni* may mean either Krittikā (the asterism of Agni) or the asterism Agni, identified with β Tauri, whose longitude in 1690 A.C. was 78° 14′. Jupiter is said to be in Mīna (330° to 360°). The position of Saturn is indicated by the words வில்லிற்கடைமகரமேவ. Parimelaḻahar takes it to mean that Saturn was in Makara (270° to 300°). But in that case, the mention of *Vil* (Dhanu) has no significance. It will be

noticed that Mars, Venus, Mercury and Jupiter are all in what are astrologically known as *svakshētras* (own houses), and it is possible that Saturn was really in Dhanu, but Nallanduvanār was influenced by the astrological notion of planets in *svakshētra* indicating heavy showers to link Dhanu with Makara in placing Saturn. If so, we have to consider the possibility of Saturn being in Dhanu (240° to 270°), especially as Nallanduvanār was acquainted with the *svakshētras* of planets (பங்குவின் இல்லத்துணை) and the theory of *vīthīs*. Then we have the words பாம்பொல்லை மதிய மறைய வருநாளில். They naturally mean that a lunar eclipse was shortly expected, though it is possible to take them to mean that the Moon set in the region of Āślesha (the asterism of Sarpa). Agastya (Canopus) is then said to be in Mīthuna (60° to 90°), but there is no reference here to its heliacal rising, which in Varāha's time (*c.* 500 A.C.) happened when the Sun was in 143°. The longitude of Canopus in 1690 A.C. was 100° 46′, and so in *c.* 300 A.C. its longitude was

$$100°\ 46' - \frac{(1690-300)}{61} = 78°.$$

Since Agastya (at least 78°) is said to have been above the horizon, the Sun's longitude cannot be less than 78°. Nor can it be more than 108°, as Venus, whose maximum distance from the Sun is 48°, was between 30° and 60°. The Sun's longitude was, therefore, between 78° and 108°, and the solar day must have been between the 81st and the 111th. Between the 81st and 111th solar days, the mean longitudes of the major planets, corresponding to their geocentric ones: Saturn (240° to 300°), Jupiter (330° to 0°) and Mars (0° to 30°) are Saturn (243° to 306°), Jupiter (321° to 348°) and Mars (314° to 351°). Between these same solar days in 1 B.C. their mean longitudes were: Saturn (73° to 74°,) Jupiter (170° to 172°) and Mars (297° to 313°). The required increases in their mean longitudes are therefore Saturn (169° to 233°), Jupiter (149° to 178°) and Mars (1° to 54°). Between 300 and 700 A.C., these increases are found only in 397 A.C. and 634 A.C. The increases in 397 A.C. are;

Saturn 171°, Jupiter 168° and Mars 28°, and in 634 A.C. the increases are: Saturn 187°, Jupiter 161° and Mars 31°. But in 397 A.C. there was no lunar eclipse between the 81st and 111th solar day, while in 634 A.C. there was a lunar eclipse on Āshāḍha Paurṇamī, 16th June (89th solar day), the Paurṇamī tithi ending at 0.94 of the day. At daybreak on that day the planets were all in their required positions, Saturn 257°, Jupiter 341°, Mars 18°, Venus 43° and Mercury 69°. Since 634 A.C. is only 6 years after Brahmagupta, the longitude of Krittikā was then 39°, and the Sun being then in 86°, the asterism, if it is the *Agni* of the text, was 47° above the horizon. If, on the other hand, the asterism was Agni, its longitude was then $78° 14' - \frac{(1690-634)}{61} = 61°$ and it was 25° above the horizon. The longitude of Agastya in that year was $100° 46' - \frac{(1690-634)}{61} = 83°$, *i.e.*, it was in Mithuna; and it is well known that the monsoon generally begins about the 16th June. The 16th June 634 A.C. is, therefore, the only date that completely satisfies the astronomical data of the *Paripāḍal*, and the credit for discovering it is due to Mr. Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai, though his demonstration left much to be desired. It will be noticed that this date for the *Paripāḍal* is in perfect agreement with the date for Sangham age (seventh century A.C.) arrived at by me on other grounds in my paper on 'The Date of Māṇikyavāçaka' (*Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXII, pp. 54–55).

HEAVENLY MANSIONS OF THE HINDUS

By S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

I. Introduction

THE evolutionary career of mankind is said to be indissolubly linked together with the divine hierarchies who rule the several planets and the many signs of the zodiac, the passage of the Sun and the planets through the twelve signs of the zodiac marking the progress of man in time and space. The Sun is but the mirror in which are reflected the rays of energy from the spiritual sun, for the real sun is as invisible as the real man. The white light of the Sun is changed in passing through the planetary sphere into the colour of the particular planet and man absorbs these colours by a mental process which changes the pure and original colour which he inherits into a coarser or lighter shade according to his choice of thoughts, feelings and actions. The evolutionary stages of mankind are emblematically represented in the twelve signs. Cancer, for instance, is not the familiar crab; it has been represented as a beetle or a scarab, the emblem of the soul in the famous zodiac in the ancient temple of Denderah. Cancer is known to be the sphere of the soul or the gate of life whence the spirits coming into rebirth enter our sublunary conditions and it is significant that the Moon, the planet of fecundation, is the presiding deity of the sign. Capricorn is at another turning point of the soul's career. It is ruled by Saturn, the reaper with his scythe and hourglass in his hand, the planet of death and chaos, who brings sorrow everywhere and all around. Capricorn is not the familiar goat but a being partly fish and partly goat and represents, in evolution, the stage from fish through amphibia to the mammalian form. In Sagittarius is symbolised the Centaur, a being half horse and half man, denoting evolution to the human stage through the animal form. The next stage of human evolution is reached when we

abandon the physical path and attempt the moral one. For, the Sun's passage through Scorpio (a pictorial representation as a serpent or scorpion) is emblematic of cunning or subtlety pointing out the first faculty of mind evolved by infant humanity. It is succeeded by the balance of reason as symbolised in Libra. Herein man could be made fully responsible to nature's laws and reap what he has sown. When we have thus passed through the physical, moral and mental phases of our soul's existence, we reach the celestial Virgin, the most sublime and mystical sign of the zodiac, which is the vehicle of immaculate conception. Thereafter, humanity's rise to a wonderful height, marked by strength, wisdom and beauty takes place in Leo the sign of the majestic king of beasts.

This planetary evolution is interpreted in Hindu mythology as Manvantaras, seven of them constituting a Mahāmanvantara. According to this, man develops the senses, from the first up to the seventh in order, in the respective Manvantaras and reaches his full stature in the last Manvantara. We are now said to be in the first half of the fourth Manvantara, having already passed through three, and we are governed by the seventh Manu called Vaivasvat since each Manvantara has two Manus, each half being ruled by one. According to Esoteric Buddhism, we are the fifth Root Race and we have developed the fifth sense, while the sixth Root Race is shortly to begin under the lordship of Maitreya. A similar view is held by the Esoteric Theosophists. What was mineral life in the first Manvantara became vegetable life in the second, developing into human life in the third and that life is now said to have reached the sphere of the Devas illumined by the Spiritual Sun, and the race is, therefore, known as the Solar Race. Similarly, the mineral life in the second is now in the Pitṛloka where the Spiritual Moon shines and hence that race is called the Lunar Race. This leads us to the so-called paths of the Sun and the Moon, Devayāna and Pitṛyāna. They are so named because from the former there is no rebirth in the same Mahāmanvantara,

while there is rebirth from the latter. The hierarchies are only living beings in various stages—Deva helping the Pitṛ, the latter helping the man and the last in his turn uplifting the beast, which assists the animals to get on, while the latter helps to promote mineral life. Hence man is midway between the higher and lower worlds.

The ladder of consciousness or the several phases through which our destiny lies is written, it is said, in the stars and a belief in reincarnation is the bedrock of Oriental religions. Each individual is like a star radiating from himself, through the form he is wearing, an influence which is either personal, being limited to his physical consciousness or individual, signifying the spirit or inner character. He may thus be said to be related to a star as beautifully expounded in the *Isis Unveiled.* Therefore, the star or Nakṣatra under which a human entity is born is said to remain for ever its star throughout the series of incarnations passed by it.

II. The Stars

In the advancing stages of development in the nebulæ are found fizzy balls of gas or clouds of dust which later flatten, forming stars on the rim. The nebulæ themselves seem like distant cities of stars, the great nebula in Andromeda being the brightest of them all. A star generates radiation by consuming its own substance and that is how we get dark or carbon stars as apart from the gaseous and metallic ones, their different colours being due to their varying temperatures. Stars are endowed with rotation at their birth which, like energy, cannot wholly disappear owing to the conservation of angular momentum. As a star sinks, its spread increases and it spins faster towards the close.

The museum of the sky contains a vast range of exhibits. Of the many curious features in the starry vault of the mysterious universe around us, it will be interesting to refer to a few. The last nebula investigated at Mt. Wilson, and the most distant object observable

under the 100-inch telescope, was found to be receding at the terrific speed of 26 million miles per hour. It may be remarked that light from a receding nebula will appear redder. In variable stars, light flickers up and down. In the Cepheid variables, called after δ Cephei, the variability is regular. Sir James Jeans says: 'The perfectly regular light fluctuations of the eclipsing binaries would make them suitable for time-keepers even though we did not understand the mechanism behind these fluctuations.' Likewise, 'the fluctuations of the Cepheid variables have a quality which makes them variable as measuring rods with which to survey the distant parts of the universe.' Rapid increase, slow decline and rapid increase in luminosity are their characteristics. Long-period variables also exhibit similar light fluctuations, taking about a year, unlike the Cepheid variables which complete the cycle in a day, week or at the most a month. Variation in temperature explains the different colours in the star-world—dull red, vivid red, yellow, white, vivid blue and violet. Sir James Jeans observes that groups of stars are not accidental formations. Further, it is the existence of these natural groups of stars, like Orion's Belt, the Pleiades, Coma Berenices, Ursa Major, and others that lie at the root of and justify the divisions of stars into constellations. They are true families, as regards physical properties, identical motions through space, journeyings in society and the like, so that each constellation, both with reference to itself and the rest, can well be described as a moving cluster. There are three varieties of stars. The smallest class comprises the white Dwarfs. Van Maanen's star is of the earth's size and exceptional. Its centre is too hot owing to the continuous breaking up of the electrons. The faint companion of Sirius is of small size, white hot and very compact. To the next category belong the main sequence stars, heaviest, bluest, etc., with their centre hot as the sun's. The last is formed of red giants whose centre is cooler as for example *α* Orionis, Betelgeux, which is 25 million times as big as the Sun, or the still larger *o* Ceti 30.

III. Mythology of Stars

The stars have formed great landmarks through the ages and guided the voyages of countless generations from the dawn of time. To the Chaldeans and the Phœnicians as well as to the Chinese and the Indians, the science of astronomy must have been well known. Astronomy has rightly been regarded as the oldest, the most beautiful and the foremost of the sciences. An inquiry in pursuit of truth into that vast, unfathomable, all-embracing infinite space in the firmament of the heavens, in that dome of the gods, in that Ākāśa from which was born Vāyu which gave rise to Tejas whence sprang Āpas from which is born our living Pṛthivī, was undertaken by astronomers, the Chaldean, the Indian, the Arab and the Greek and amongst the foremost we know of may be placed Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, Newton, Bhāskara, Varāhamihira and Āryabhaṭa.

In ancient times, groups of stars were given names, perhaps according to fancy, as the clusters appeared to the eye or imagination. These were mostly in relation to the figures of men, animals and things. The Vedas also similarly refer to the twenty-seven asterisms or Nakṣatras comprising the lunar mansions. Amongst ancient references to these asterisms may be mentioned: the Argo of Jason in which he sailed on his quest for the Golden Fleece, guided by a plan of the firmament drawn by Chiron; the reference by Job in the Bible 3,300 years ago to the great constellation of the Orion, the Giant Hunter who, according to one account, lost his sight in attempting to abduct Merope, the daughter of Oenopion and who subsequently regained it by exposing his face to the Sun or who, according to other accounts, was accidentally shot by Diana and died; the Pleiades representing the seven daughters of Atlas, who pursued by Orion, prayed to Diana to help them and were by her transformed into a constellation, resting on the shoulders of the Bull. In the 49th chapter of Genesis, Jacob blesses his children, symbolising the twelve signs. Likewise, the

famous Babylonian bricks and the Egyptian hieroglyphical literature contain evidences of the ancient glory of this science of astronomy. In more recent times, Eudoxes of Cnidus about 360 B.C. described the form and movement, while Aratus about 270 B.C. sang about the stars and Hipparchus of Rhodes about 130 B.C. fixed for the first time the position of the stars as we see them. Ptolemy in his Almagest has listed 1,122 stars in 48 groups. How the Hindus considered the stars will be discussed later but the antiquity of our knowledge of this science will be evident from the fact that the Great Bear constellation or the Chariot of David is referred to in the Vedas at least 4,000 years ago. It is also known as Ursa Major or Rikṣa (bear). It may be likened to a plough of seven oxen (saptarṣabha) or as four of them forming the wheels and the other three the horses of the car of David. How it may be likened to a bear, it is difficult to say.

Mythology has also been affected by the star cult, both amongst the Hindus and in the West. The extent of this influence cannot, however, be determined. All the stars were divine or saintly beings according to Hindu mythology. An idea of the constellations of Ursa Major and Ursa Minor is given in the following account. They perpetuate the unhappy fate of Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon, King of Arcadia. Unable to bear Jupiter's affections for her, the jealous Juno metamorphosed her into a bear, along with her child Arcas. Jupiter pitied her in her suffering but could not undo it and consequently raised mother and son to the heavens as constellations. Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa says that Agni was first produced in Krittikas and was then taken and put in Rohiṇī by Prajāpati whence, for the sake of protection from the Asuras, Indra took him and placed him in Punarvasu. The Brahmins next removed Agni to Pūrva-Phalguni, the Kṣatriyas to Uttara-Phalguni and the Vaiśyas to Chitra. Rohiṇī was the favourite consort amongst the twenty-seven wives of Chandra. The Krittikas, a seven-headed asterism of the personified sword as Dharma, were the mothers of Skanda. Saptarṣis were

divine seers and Arundhati, wife of Vasiṣṭha, waited near by. Dhruva, the steadfast, was also, though less frequently, personified in anthropomorphic tendency. Like Dhruva, Nahuṣa, the son of Purūravas and Ūrvaśi and all Nahuṣa's sons, Yati, Yayāti, etc., may have been stars; and the Yayāti myth also points towards it. The Aśvins are born from the mouth of the mare goddess as an asterism: it is also said that Vivasvat became a horse and begot, by Tvāṣṭrī, these Aśvins. The Sun burns Jaṭāyu's feathers, though not in anger and Soma, the son of Atri, had power over the Sun. The road to Amarāvati, Indra-loka, is the path of the stars.

IV. Solar System

The Sun, it may then be observed, is the physical and outward glory of the Spiritual Intelligence. He is the centre of the solar system, all things living, moving and having their being in the solar life emanating from him. From this centre radiate all the life-currents which energise every living thing upon the earth. And this life descends and ascends, through each of the seven planets, and in the process of evolution is changed and transformed and these seven planets are either directly or indirectly connected with the seven principal substances or dhātus in the human body.

According to Hindu medicine, man has seven elements (dhātus) in his body and as the seven planets are said to give or control these dhātus, they are said to possess even a biological effect on man. Hindu doctors hold that the position of the planets in a man's horoscope indicates the varying influence of these planets on his life and assert that his diseases and death can be predicted by the transit, and progress of the planets. The three guṇas are equivalent to the three qualities of the zodiacal signs—fixed, cardinal and mutable. By combinations, these are again modified so as to provide seven kinds of energy, seven modes of motion or vibration which express themselves in the matter or form-side of the universe. In the Indian zodiac, each sign represents firstly a particular state of matter; secondly, a characteristic

mode of motion; and thirdly, a co-ordinated type of consciousness or self. These three signify matter, motion and consciousness, the three Śaktis, icchā, kriyā and jnāna, which are correlated with the fundamental classification of self, non-self and the relation between them or *Aham ētat na* (the soul-matter-link of the Praṇava Vāda). The creative life proceeds from the self and runs through the other two. The planetary spirits or intelligences, through their numerous angels or agents, show the various states of consciousness and the signs, in their many combinations, exhibit the forms of matter in motion in which consciousness is working. Hence, a change in consciousness produces a change in form and *vice versa*. The entire Solar System may be regarded as the Body of God, the planets representing definite centres or organs within it: each planet utilising and manifesting a different type of vitality and consciousness, of which the Sun is the heart and the earth the head for the terrestrial inhabitants. While God is everywhere, His life and power are nevertheless manifested more especially through the Sun. Cosmic vital force comes to the Sun from the higher planes of being, the so-called fourth dimension of space and is thence transmitted to each and every world in the Solar Universe, flowing through ether like blood through the human body or like prāṇa along the nerves. Hence, each world is in touch with every other and with the Sun.

Planets

If in man be represented the universe in miniature, it may then be suggested that Sun represents ātma or soul, Moon manas or mind, Mars ahaṁkāra or ego, Mercury chit or intelligence, Jupiter buddhi or intuition, Venus ānanda or bliss and Saturn vivēka or balance and discrimination.

Sun.—The Sun, Sūrya, is so called as he travels in the air. He is a mixture of red and dark-brown in colour, of the Kṣatriya caste, endowed with Satvaguṇa, an old man belonging to the Kāśyapagotra, lord of the East and

of the sign of Leo. He represents the Paramātma and stands for Unity in life or consciousness.

Moon.—Chandra married the daughters of Dakṣa-prajāpati, of whom he was very partial to Rohiṇī. Dakṣa sent for him and advised him to treat all his wives in the same manner, but to no purpose. Chandra was, thereupon, cursed with childlessness and to suffer from the terrible and wasting disease of consumption. Thereupon, all the wives of Chandra implored Dakṣa to take away the curse but, as that was not possible, a concession was made so that Chandra would wax in the one half and wane in the other half of the month. His colour is gaura or white and he belongs to the Dvija caste. He is lord of Cancer and the East and belongs to the Ātreya gotra. He represents Duality or Jīvātma, and the formative principle. He is the Individual Soul, being the reflection of the Supreme Soul or Paramātma. The earth represents differentiation, the material self or body, *i.e.*, activity in matter.

Mars.—Kuja is a son of the earth, of red and white mixed colour, belonging to the Kṣatriya caste, lord of the South and of Meṣa, endowed with Tamoguṇa, of the Bharadvāja gotra, four-armed, facing the Sun, with Kārtikeya for his god. He is defective of limb. Kuja denotes matter-dominating spirit working through material activities.

Mercury.—Budha is the son of Chandra and Tāra, greenish blue in colour (दूर्वाश्याम), a eunuch, a Śūdra, endowed with Rajoguṇa, the lord of Mithuna, and of the North. The cross (+), the symbol of Mercury, signifies desire, the astral consciousness, the circle in the middle denoting mutual consciousness, while the semi-circle above indicates that evolution has been pushed beyond the mental and is reflecting downwards light received from the higher (buddhic) plane which dominates all, or the two serpents intertwined round a central rod, denoting the fiery power or Kuṇḍalinī, full control of which makes the practical yogi.

Jupiter.—Bṛhaspati, the son of Angirasa, is the guru of the devas, an old man of yellow colour, endowed with

Satvaguṇa, belonging to the Brahmin caste and lord of the Īśānya, North-East. He is the soul expanding beyond matter but retaining material form.

Venus.—Śukra, son of Bhrigu and guru of the daityas, is dark-brown in colour and lord of Agni, South-East; belongs to the Brahmin caste and is endowed with Rajoguṇa. He represents spiritual self or individuality, risen above matter.

Saturn.—Śani is a eunuch, belongs to the lowest caste, is the son of Sūrya, is endowed with Tamoguṇa and is the lord of Kumbha. He represents the concrete soul limited by conditions.

Uranus and Neptune.—Uranus and Neptune which, being later discoveries, were unknown to the Hindus, are the negatives of the Moon and Sun respectively, representing individual consciousness and personal self-consciousness.

Nodes.—Rāhu and Kētu or the ascending and descending nodes are only chāyagrahas or shadowy planets.

Symbols of Planets

The planets have astronomical symbols, perhaps derived from Chaldean and Egyptian sources. The symbol of Mercury, ☿ is the *caduceus* of Hermes which like the *petasus* is an emblem of eastern origin; that of Mars, ♂ represents a round shield and spear; those of Jupiter ♃ and Saturn ♄, are doubtful, probably indicating the grasp or the clutching hand and the reaper's scythe respectively, and are perhaps the Syro-Arabic forms of the figures 4 and 5, indicating their position in the planetary system; that of Earth, ♁ is an inverted emblem of life, probably bearing some reference to terrestrial corruption and decay; and ♅ stands for Uranus and ♆ for Neptune.

Zodiac

The celestial equator is the great circle which divides the heavens into two hemispheres at 90° from the poles. The first point of Aries is the celestial meridian which corresponds to the terrestrial meridian of Greenwich. It is the equinoctial point on the equator from which commences the

hours of right ascension along the equator, or for longitude on the ecliptic. M. De Lalande says : " The whole of ancient astronomy prior to the age of Chiron (1163 B.C. ?), was probably confined to observing the rising of certain stars at different seasons of the year and the phases of the moon, with only an approach to accuracy ; for even long after that period, neither the Chaldeans nor the Egyptians knew the durations or inequalities of the planetary movements." Chiron, described as a son of Kronos (Saturn or time), it is said, perhaps observed κ Draconis then near the pole of the equator. It is said that about 12,200 B.C. α Lyrae (Vega) marked the pole ; ι Draconis about 4,500 B.C. and α Draconis about 2,700 B.C. And owing to the precession of the equinoxes, the pole moves in a circle among the stars taking about 26,000 years to complete one revolution. The astronomer, however, retained the duodecimal system for his calculations. The constellation or group of fixed stars seen in each of the 12 portions of the zodiac was called a sign, suggesting what would follow whilst the Sun appeared to rise at the same time with any star in that constellation. Besides, fixed stars lying outside the ecliptic were also divided into constellations : Arcturus, Bootes, Orion, etc. Those, however, within the zodiac were named after animals, from 'zodiac' meaning an animal. There are 57 constellations of which 29 are north of the zodiac and 28 south of it. Inside the zodiac, in the constellation Aries, 66 stars were observed prior to 1825 and in Taurus no less than 141. The largest are of the first magnitude, next in lustre are those of the second magnitude and so on till we come to what are known as telescopic and even spectroscopic stars.

Solar and Lunar Houses

Astrologically, the Hindu sub-divisions of the zodiac comprise twenty-seven lunar asterisms, the twelve rāśis and their numerous sub-divisions, and the nine planets in their relationships as rulers over the lunar and solar mansions. The twelve solar houses or rāśis are compared with the physical

body and the planetary positions in these signs with the inner man who inhabits the body, *i.e.*, the rising sign or the ascendant. The houses are classified as cardinal or angular, fixed or succedent and mutable or cadent, comprising 1, 4, 7, 10; 2, 5, 8, 11; and 3, 6, 9, 12, respectively. 1, 5 and 9 belong to the fire; 2, 6 and 10 to the earth; 3, 7 and 11 to air and 4, 8 and 12 to the water tattvas. The ascendant or 1 and midheaven or 10 are the most potent and active signs, the planets therein denoting a typical life and domination of self. The 7th house is as open, prominent and inevitable but to a less degree, the experience being through others. While the 1st is the personal in influence and the 10th is likewise but covering a wider field, the 4th is neither personal nor individual. 2, 5, 8 and 11 are connected with desire, feeling, emotion and tamas, 2 and 5 however being more conservative. 3, 6, 9 and 12 are mental and indicate how thought guides and directs both action and desire; but these lack initiative. 3 and 9 are intellectual and positive while 6 and 12 relate to workers and occupations. According to Praṇava Vāda, 1, 5 and 9 denote self; 2, 6 and 10 not-self; 3, 7 and 11 relation, and 4, 8 and 12 summation. These are important as the zodiac is the boundary line of the earth's sphere of influence.

Lunar Mansions

Hindu astronomers believe the lunar mansions to have been so divided or invented by Dakṣa, a son of Brahma. The Nakṣatras are, therefore, said to be the offspring of the daughters of Dakṣa, diurnally receiving their consort the Moon in his ethereal journey, being themselves the wives of Chandra of whom Rohiṇī, the fourth daughter, was the favourite consort. Each Nakṣatra or lunar station or mansion comprises $13\frac{1}{3}$ amśas or 13° 20′ each, and there are 27 such, to which is also added another, Abhijit, comprising three stars, coming between the 21st and 22nd lunar asterisms, *viz.*, Uttara Āṣāḍha and Śravaṇa. The three stars in the Abhijit are the last quarter of the asterism immediately preceding or what is called the latter

Ashar. A complete revolution of the Moon, with respect to the stars, being made in 27 days and some hours and minutes and seconds, and perfect exactness not being possible, the number 27 was fixed and Abhijit is said to have been inserted for astrological purposes in connection with nuptial ceremonies. The most ancient measure of time amongst the Hindus was lunar, a lunar year having 12 months of 27 days each, a year thus comprising 324 days. The explanation of the division of the lunar mansions into 27 houses is, therefore, evident. The 12 months of a lunar year are made up of 3 seasons—4 cold months allotted to Brahma, 4 warm months belonging to Rudra and the remaining 4 months being ascribed to Viṣṇu. In the Vedic period, according to Prof. Berriedale Keith, there was extremely little sign of astronomical study. The year was vaguely reckoned and 27 or 28 lunar stations were of dubious origin. At the close of the Vedic period, about the 14th century B.C., however, more elaborate works on the calendar were noticeable. The Vedic sacrifices demanded at least a rudimentary knowledge of the calendar and an elementary conception of mensuration. As Sūtras and Jyotiṣa Vedānga they are preserved in the two versions of the Yajurveda and Rigveda. We find here a calendar arranged on the basis of a five-year Yuga with a 366-day Yuga. The position of the Sun and the Moon at the solstices was noticed at the new moon as well as at the full moon, with regard to these 27 asterisms. Some further development of purely Indian types is found in the Gārgya Saṁhita and other works. The characteristics of this pre-scientific period were general ignorance of the mean motions of the Sun and Moon, resulting in a faulty appreciation of the length of the years and months; and a total ignorance of the true motion opposed to mean motion; the teaching of an equally daily increase or decrease of the length of day, dividing the sphere into 27 or 28 Nakṣatras; entertaining fantastic notions of the constitution of the earth and the universe; and a determination on false premises to work out large numerical

calculations. All save the Jaina texts assumed that the winter solstice fell at the beginning of the Nakṣatra Dhaniṣṭha, but the datum is quite insufficient to enable us to fix in any way the date of the works. As Sir William Jones points out, the names and forms of the lunar constellations, more especially of Bharaṇī and Abhijit, indicate a simplicity of manners peculiar to an ancient people and differ entirely from those of the Arabian system in which the very first asterism appears in the dual number because it consists of only two stars. Abhijit, for example, looks like the ace of hearts and has a resemblance to the kernel of the *trapa*, a curious water plant.

Vedic Sacrifices

The Aśvamedha sacrifice points to the commencement of the new year, indicating thereby an astronomical revolution or the Sun's return to the same point in the ecliptic. It is a well-known fact that the Sun turns round its axis from west to east once in about 25 days; the earth goes round itself once in 24 hours and round the Sun in 365 days, 6 hours, etc. The breadth of the zodiac is 16° taking in all the orbits of all the planets and of the Moon. The Sun distinguishes the seasons and brings round the year; the Moon waxes and wanes in his monthly transit; and the stars are an undistinguishable throng, except perhaps Sirius the nearest star whose light rays take eight years to reach the earth.

An astronomical fact of considerable importance was the discovery of the relation of the planets to the zodiac which was itself the result of long and persistent observation. The apparent motions of the Sun, the Moon and the planets are confined in the ecliptic, a broad and imaginary circle in the heavens cutting the equator obliquely. Some very ancient and unknown astronomers divided this ecliptic into 12 portions, perhaps in their crude endeavour to adopt the annual revolution of the Sun to the monthly revolutions of the Moon and later on with a further reference to the planets Saturn and Jupiter. Thus, by multiplying the 30 years of

Saturn by 12 of Jupiter, occupied in their respective journeys round our Sun and applying the result to the ecliptic, the whole celestial circle was distributed into 360 portions. Thus perhaps was established in very early times, a year of 360 days, accurate observation later on adding another 5 days and still later supplementing it by another 6 hours. The leap year and extra days of the centuries thus came as a rectification of the ordinary years. Likewise, additional months in lunar years.

According to Hindu astronomers, however, when the lunar year was arranged by former astronomers, the Moon was at the full in each month on the very day when it entered the Nakṣatra, from which that month is denominated. Opinions differ whether the lunar month began with the full moon, or the new moon, and whether the original number of Nakṣatras in the lunar mansions was 27 or 28. But it is permissible to state that the zodiac was divided by Vedic observations into 27 parts, by means of the leading stars which formed the mile-stones in the heavens. Several stars in the solar mansions and practically in the pathway of the zodiacal constellations appear to have been omitted from notice apparently for the reason that while dealing with the lunar mansions they played no important part in the great calculations of time and space. No inference can be drawn from this that their existence was not known at the time.

While it is difficult to assert whether the solar or the lunar year was first employed for purposes of calculation, there is a school of thought which holds that the 12 signs on which the 12 months of the solar year depended were, according to Hindu astronomers, of later invention, owing to the obvious fact that they are named from 12 of the lunar asterisms चैत्र, etc., which a purāṇa allegorically intimates by ascribing to the 12 months 12 Genii, the offspring of 12 of the 27 wives of Chandra, etc.

Our Sun appears to be travelling fast with his family, facing Hercules. The first day of the solar year is the day

of entry of the Sun into the zodiacal sign of Aries at the vernal equinox, and the beginning of the year is dated from the new moon immediately preceding that day apparently for the reason that on that day the Sun, the Earth and the Moon are in a straight line. These lunar mansions are not all equal in size; some consist of only one or two stars as for example the 14th asterism Chitra which has only one star Spica. Each of these rāśis or signs again has two and a quarter of these lunar mansions. The lunar year begins with the new moon of Chitra, that is, preceding the entry of the Sun into the sign Aries, taking its name from the fourteenth asterism Chitra.

In the lunar calendar, the time is measured by the number of conjunctions of the Sun and Moon on the dial or the zodiacal section of the starry vault overhead on the equator and a year comprises twelve such conjunctions or lunations. In the solar calendar, the existence of the Moon hand is entirely ignored, a year being reckoned by the number of revolutions of the Sun hand, with reference to a fixed point or a star such as Spica. Consequently, the chief bright star in the Nakṣatra which rises about sunset, opposite the Sun, tells approximately the name of the lunar month. A rāśi or sign, on the other hand, denotes the entry of the Sun into it, *i.e.*, Saṅkramaṇa. The twenty-seven Nakṣatras or asterisms represent the twenty-seven equal parts into which the ecliptic is divided, commencing from Aśvini. This division was made with respect to α Delphini which was used as a starting point in the matter of sidereal division. Generally, the most conspicuous star in the space of each Nakṣatra is called its yōgatāra. Unfortunately, there is no bright and unmistakable star near the ecliptic, either in or near the first point of the first sidereal division of the Hindus, called Aśvini, worthy of being referred to as the origin of all sidereal longitudes. In the opposite direction and near the ecliptic, however, is the single and brilliant star Spica or Chitra, the cynosure of ancient astronomers. The origin of longitude is, therefore, so fixed at a point diametrically

opposite to Chitra, whose longitude in ancient Hindu zodiac was 180°.

Naming of the Nakṣatras appears to have been done about 2,000 B.C. when the tropical longitude of the first point of Aśvini was 330°. The year of the Āryans and other ancient nations commenced when the Sun's longitude was 330°, and the Chinese still begin their year in that lunar month in which the Sun arrives at 330°, the degree of tropical longitude.

The sixty-year cycle probably had its origin in the approximate coincidence of the Jovian and Saturnian revolutions round the Sun. It is, however, the smallest of the cosmic cycles, at the end of which all the five planets assume very nearly the same geocentric configuration as they had at its beginning, deviating on favourable occasions within 6° one way or the other. It must, in all probability, have been in use during the period of the Saṁhitas, though perhaps it was reintroduced later when Vijaya instead of Prabhava marked the commencement of the cycle.

The Chaldeans themselves seem to have been, according to V. B. Ketkar, a colony of the Indian Āryans calling themselves Caldais or timekeepers, having borrowed their era and chronology from the Indians and there is evidence to show that they were looked upon as foreigners in Mesopotamia. It is curious to observe that the Chaldean, Egyptian, Nabonassar and the Indian Āryan eras began on a Saptami; the length of the sidereal year was the same; and the Indian era was older than the Chaldean by four centuries. With the Chinese, they have a luni-solar year, months being lunar and years tropical; their era is not based on any cycle but computed by means of the true positions of the Sun and Moon; and they date from B.C. 2,637.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS

No. XXXIX

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[The House-Sparrow and the Barn-Owl in Moroccan Magic and Leechcraft.]

THE House-Sparrow (*Passer domesticus*, Linn.) is found all over India, and, through Western Asia, in Europe. As it is found in Europe, it must migrate, during the winter, into Northern Africa including Morocco.

The inhabitants of Morocco, who are descended from the Arab stock of the human race, speak the Arabic language and profess the Mahomedan faith, are, therefore, well acquainted with the House-Sparrow (*Passer domesticus*) and its peculiar habits and characteristics.

This bird is remarkable for its prolificness. This peculiarity must have attracted the notice of the Arabs of Morocco who, therefore, use the flesh of this bird in the manufacture of the under-described nostrum for the increase of virile potency :—

"The sparrow (most likely the house-sparrow) is used as an aphrodisiac. In Andjra, a man chars and pounds the bodies of some eight or ten sparrows and mixes the powder with honey which has been sucked from the strawberry-tree and is noted for its lack of sweetness. Into this mixture, he puts forty quite small scraps of paper, and takes the mixture on an empty stomach on forty successive mornings. His sexual capacity will, then, become as great as that of a sparrow."*

The Barn-Owl or Screech-Owl (*Strix flammea*) is found all over Asia and Europe and through Southern Europe, in Northern Africa including Morocco and Tunisia. 'The Arabs of Morocco are, therefore, well acquainted with this bird and

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**Vide Ritual and Belief in Morocco.* By Edward Westermarck, Ph.D., Hon. LL.D. (Aberdeen). In two volumes. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1926. Vol. II, p. 341.

its nocturnal habits. This bird passes the day time by sleeping in its cavities and holes; while, all through the night it keeps awake, flies about and seeks its prey. This bird's habit of keeping awake during the night must have attracted the notice of the Arabs of Morocco who, therefore, use this bird's eyes in the manufacture of the under-described as amulets, charms and nostrums for procuring wakefulness:—

"The eye of an owl (most likely, barn-owl) is used as a means of preventing a person from falling asleep. He ties it round his right arm or fastens it to his head, or eats it boiled; and a shepherd boy has it hung round his neck. Both eyes are also removed and put into water. I was told that one of them always sinks, and other one floats; but while some people sew up the eye which sinks (in the water) in a small leather-case and wear it as a charm to prevent sleepiness, others eat the eye for the same purpose."

Another method of keeping awake is to paint one's eyes with a powder made of the eyes of an owl.

At Demnat, an eye of this bird, attached to a string is worn by a child round the neck as a charm against the evil eye.

Owls, like bats, may be dangerous to little children. For an illness caused by an owl flying over the head of a child, there is the following cure-charm:—The mother places a brass bowl on the top of the child's head and makes water in it, saying: '*Sarsara galbet sarsara*' "*sarsara* (an onomatopoetic expression referring to the splashing and used for the sake of the rhyme) conquered the owl."*

From a careful study of the afore-described amulets, charms and nostrums, we find that—

(1) The Arabs of Morocco are very careful observers of the peculiar habits and characteristics of birds and noticed the great fecundity of the house-sparrow and the wakefulness of the barn-owl.

(2) Having noticed the afore-mentioned peculiarities of the house-sparrow and the barn-owl, they thought within

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* *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 333-36.

themselves that, if persons suffering from want of virile potency and from sleepiness could be somehow or other made to imbibe the afore-mentioned peculiar qualities of those two birds, their physical defects would be removed. The Arabs who are well up in leechcraft, therefore, hit upon the idea that, if those, who are suffering from the loss of sex-appetite, would eat the flesh of the house-sparrow and those suffering from sleepiness would eat the barn-owl's eye or tie the latter object as an amulet on their own body, the former would be endowed with great sex-appetite and the latter would be wakeful during the night.

(3) The foregoing amulets, charms and nostrums are examples of contagious magic which has been defined by Sir J. G. Frazer as having sympathetic magic based on a material connection between things. Here the flesh of the house-sparrow and the eye of the barn-owl, by remaining in contact with the bodies of the persons suffering from loss of sex-appetite or from sleepiness, remove those defects. Similar examples of contagious magic are to be found among many races of people all over the world. Thus the Red Indian hunter wears ornaments made of the claws of the grizzly bear, so that he may be endowed with its courage and ferocity; the Tyrolese hunter wears tufts of eagle's down in his hat for the purpose of acquiring the eagle's keen sight and courage. Casalis writes that the strange objects hanging from the necks of the little *Basuto* children of South Africa have a magical significance. Among these are included a kite's foot in order that the poor child may escape misfortune with the swiftness of the kite in its flight. Another child wears the claw of a lion in order that his life may be as firmly secured against all dangers as that of a lion. A third child wears the tarsus-bone of a sheep or an iron-ring so that he may oppose evil with a resistance as firm as iron; or as that little compact bone without marrow which cannot be crushed between two other bones without difficulty.

A European traveller, who was about to travel into the interior of South Africa, was asked by a medicine-man of

the *Basuto* tribe to collect for him certain parts of the bodies of some beasts and birds for his stock-in-trade. The uses of these parts of the bodies of beasts and birds are examples of *contagious magics* and have been described by that European gentleman in the following words :—

"He (the *Basuto* medicine-man) wanted lions' hearts, which eaten, ensure bravery; lions' fat, which produces enormous strength, lions' eyes, which dried, endow the wearer with second sight, lions' claws, a sure charm against evil. Hippopotamus' fat, as a remedy for rheumatism, seemed not unreasonable, but why the hippo's heart dried and pulverised and taken internally should endow the consumer with mental placidity was not so obvious. Elephant fat was required as an unguent to give great strength; elephant gall as an emetic; elephant heart for those who craved the virtue of courage.

Certain birds have their uses when dried, split and worn. The owl, for instance, gives second sight. The kingfisher, placed by a swain round the neck of his beloved, ensures her constancy. Every part of the otter has its uses for a swimmer. The fat, heart, and skin of the *gray monkey* called *Isimangwe* or *Idhladhlama*, sharpens dull intellects; rhinoceros' heart and fat are prized both medicinally and magically but why rhino horn, pulverised, should find a ready sale in China I could not discover. Snakes were in demand; the puff adder, the python, the Black Mamba and Green Mamba (these last most dangerous snakes in the world, their bite killing within five seconds), but their use in this weird pharmacopœia was another thing I was unable to find out.

The merchant (or medicine-man) was disappointed when I told him I could not undertake to act as his collector. But at odd times later I thought of him.

Once, some thousand miles from his shop, we killed a hyena and the natives begged for the carcase. A nocturnal animal, the hyena hides himself by day so successfully that they believe he possesses the secret of making himself

invisible. They desired his body so that they might make for themselves an '*invisible cloak*'.

Again a native, lost in the bush, has what he considers an infallible guide if he is carrying the dried head and eyes of a vulture. He ties them on his head, and taking careful note of the direction in which they are pointing, sleeps. He must dream of the place he wishes to reach, and if on waking he finds the head-dress pointing the same way as overnight, he takes the road. If neither of these conditions is fulfilled he goes through the whole process again.

I have known my servant Julius adopt this method with the greatest confidence, and, whether by luck or not prove its efficacy. But Julius held converse on hunting topics with the *Ngulukulu bird*, and on another occasion with the spirit of his deceased grandmother."*

Then again, the eating of certain kinds of food, more especially of the flesh of animals, would similarly have a very powerful effect upon the eaters thereof. Thus, among the Dyaks of Borneo, young men sometimes abstain from eating the flesh of deer so that they may not become timid. The Abipones of Paraguay in South America detest the thought of eating hens' eggs, sheep, fish or tortoise, under the belief that these tender kinds of food would produce sloth and languor in their bodies and cowardice in their minds. On the other hand, they eagerly devour the flesh of the jaguar, bull, stag, boar, anta and tamandna (two species of ant-eaters) under the belief that, by continually feeding upon the flesh of these animals their strength, boldness and courage will be increased.

The belief in contagious magic leads quite logically to many revolting practices. In Torres Straits, the sweat of famous warriors was drunk by young men who also ate, mixed with their food, the scrapings from the finger nails of the warriors which had become saturated with human blood "for the purposes of making strong like stone: no afraid".

* *Vide* the article entitled *Basuto Doctor's Stock-in-Trade*. Published in the Calcutta daily newspaper *The Statesman* of Sunday, the 29th June 1926.

The eyes and tongue of a freshly killed enemy were often torn out and given to lads so that by eating the same they might become brave and fearless. By eating a man's fat and thus making it part of himself, the Australian aboriginal native thinks that he also acquires the strength of the deceased man.*

(4) The most noteworthy features of the Moroccan nostrum manufactured from the flesh of the house-sparrow are that it is mixed with *forty* small scraps of paper and that it must be taken on *forty* successive mornings. Although Dr. Westermarck has not explicitly stated it, I think the scraps of paper are inscribed with texts from the Koran, which lend the nostrum its magical efficacy. Then again, *forty* appears to be a sacred number among the Arabs of Morocco.

(5) The use of the barn-owl's eye as a charm against the evil eye is curious and strange, considering that the hooting of this very bird portends evil and death to a child. This is inexplicable except on the homœopathic principle of *Similia similibus curantur* or "Like cures like". For explaining this strange use of the owl's eye, it may be argued that, because the hooting of a barn-owl portends evil and death to a child, a limb of this very bird, namely, its eye may counteract the evil and baleful influence exercised upon a child by the eyes of a malevolent witch.

(6) The idea underlying the Moroccan cure-charm for curing the illness caused by a barn-owl's flying over a child's head is that the disease spirit is afraid of disgusting things like human urine and flies away from places or receptacles in which such things are kept. Consequently, the disease spirit which is troubling the child, would fly away from the child on whose head the bowl containing the urine is placed.

The utterance of the charm formula "*Sarsara galbet sarsara*" would appear to be an example of the belief in the magical efficacy of the spoken word for exorcising away disease spirits and other malevolent beings of that ilk.

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* For a fuller exposition of this aspect of contagious magic *vide Magic and Fetishism.* By A. C. Haddon. London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1916. Pp. 9–11.

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS
No. XVII

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Thado Kuki Ætiological Myth about the Origin of the Fibrous Kernel of the Elephant-Apple or Wood-Apple.]

THE Elephant-Apple Tree or Wood-Apple Tree, which is a member of the Order *Rutacede*, and whose botanical name is *Feronia elephantum*, is called in Bengali *Kath-bael*, and in Hindi *Kaith-bel*. It is commonly met with in jungles and grows all over India. Its fruit is round-shaped, being about the size of a cricket-ball; and its outer rind is of a pale green tint. The interior of the hard shell of this fruit is full of a brown-coloured, soft and mealy kernel which is somewhat acrid in flavour and possesses a strong odour of rancid butter. But the people of Bengal and Bihar are very fond of this fruit and make its kernel, with the addition of a little mustard oil, salt and chillis, into a very appetising *chutni*. These fruits ripen in October. The Rev. Mr. Firminger is of opinion that the pulp of this fruit is "by no means palatable".

But another European authority, Dr. Wight, says: "The pulp of this fruit affords a pleasant jelly so closely resembling black-currant jelly as to be distinguished by a trifling degree of astringency. The jelly, however, I have prepared from it appeared to me to possess rather the flavour of apples with a sharp cider taste and to be such as it is not likely would be approved of by many."

This tree may be propagated either by seeds or by cuttings planted during the rainy season.

This fruit-tree is grown in all gardens owned by Indian proprietors for the sake of its pleasantly sub-acid fruits. But the Rev. Mr. Firminger says that "it is not entitled to a place in the gardens".*

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* For the account of this tree, I am indebted to Firminger's *Manual of Gardening for India.* Revised by J. Cameron, F.L.S. Fifth Edition. Calcutta · Thacker Spink & Co., 1904, p. 275.

The Thado Kukis or, briefly speaking, the Thadus are a Mongoloid tribe of people who, in scattered communities, dwell in certain portions of the North Cachar Hills, the Naga Hills, the Manipur Kingdom and, spreading east into Burma, also inhabit the Chin Hills and the Somra Tract. Their population is approximately estimated at about 50,000. The females of this tribe exceed the males by about 5 per cent. The major portion of the Thadus, however, live in the Manipur Hills. Their anthropometry and their ethnography including their social organization, their manners and customs, religion and folklore have been studied by Mr. William Shaw of the Assam Civil Service and published in *The Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1 (1928), under the title of "*Notes on the Thado Kukis*".

The Elephant-Apple Tree apparently grows in the jungles of the regions which are the habitat of the Thado Kukis. These people are, therefore, familiar with the fruits thereof of which they appear to be very fond. They also know full well that the kernel of this fruit is made up of a brown-tinted, soft and mealy substance (resembling the phlegm of the human nose) mixed up with a goodly quantity of fibres resembling hair. This struck them very much and they, therefore, fabricated the undermentioned myth to account for the origin of the curious-looking mesocarp of the elephant-apple.

This myth is entitled : "*The Elephant-Apple Carrying*" and is to the following effect :—

A man and his wife, with their child, went into the jungle for the purpose of digging up and gathering yams. In one part of the jungle, they came across a large number of ripe elephant-apples. Some of these fruits they ate there ; but they tied up the remaining ones into a load with the intention of carrying the same home. But they found it too heavy to carry. So, addressing his wife, the man said : "Leave some of the fruit here."

To this proposal the woman demurred saying : "No, the fruit is very sweet ; we won't leave it. More children

will be born to us from the womb that bore this. Let us leave the child and take the fruit."

So they placed the child in a yam-hole and left it there. Then they carried the load of fruit home.

The child cried all day long on having been left there alone. Towards the close of the day, however, a were-lioness came there and, finding the child, said to herself, "I will bring this child up and eat it". So saying, she took it home and reared it.

When the child had grown big enough, he used to go to the fields with two girls for weeding the same. One day while weeding the fields, the two girls told him how his parents had taken him a-yam-digging when he was infant and had abandoned him in the jungle for the purpose of taking home a load of ripe elephant-apples and how the were-lioness had found him and was rearing him up for the purpose of eating him. They, therefore, advised him to go to the were-lioness' house, looking very ferocious, so that the were-lioness might be scared and cowed down by his assumed ferocity and that he might kill her. The boy acted as he was advised to do; and having killed the were-lioness, went back to his parents' home.

Addressing his parents, the boy said: "I will tell you a tale"; when he had told them the whole story, they wept on being reminded of their cruelty and heartlessness at having abandoned their infant-child.

Then the mother left him and his father and taking an elephant-apple, cut it into two halves; then she blew her nose and put the phlegm and the combings of her hair inside the fruit and said: "*For your sake, my child, I have done this.*" Then they all lived together.

*From that time forward, the hair-combings are to be found in the fibres of the elephant-apple; and the rheum of the nose is its kernel.**

* For this myth, *vide* Mr. William Shaw's "*Notes on the Thado Kukis,*" pp. 111—112.

From a study of the foregoing myth we find that :—

(1) The Thado Kukis are heartless and cruel and will not scruple to abandon even their nearest and dearest kinsmen for the sake of small advantages.

(2) They also possess the finer qualities of human nature and will readily repent for having done a wrongful and sinful act when the wrongfulness of their conduct is brought home to them.

(3) They are keen and accurate observers of Nature and will readily grasp the peculiarities of natural objects.

(4) As they are in a low plane of culture and ignorant of the scientific laws which govern the formation of trees and their fruits they fabricated the preceding myth to account for the origin of the fibrous kernel of the elephant-apple or wood-apple.

(5) Like many savage races of people, the Thado Kukis also believe that some members of their tribe are great adepts in the arts of magic and sorcery and that these magicians or sorcerers, by the exercise of their magical powers, can readily metamorphose themselves into fruits and beasts such as lions and lionesses. For instance, the were-lioness mentioned in the foregoing myth is no other than a Thado Kuki witch who had by her knowledge of magic changed herself into a lioness. The same belief in the capability of sorcerers and magicians to transform themselves into ravenous beasts is universal. During the Middle Ages, there prevailed in Europe the terrible belief in Lycanthropy according to which some men could transform themselves into *were-wolves* or men who were human beings by day-time and wolves during the night. The same belief in *were-tigers* prevails in India and Malayan Peninsula, in *were-hyenas* in South Africa and in the *were-bear* in Beluchistan at the present day.

REVIEWS

Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections.

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The Skeletal Remains of Early Man.

BY ALES HRDLICKA.

THE author's earlier treatise on "The Most Ancient Skeletal Remains of Man" (*Ann. Rep. Smith. Inst.* for 1913, pp. 491–552, 41 pls. and 12 figs. 1914) attracted such wide-spread attention that the first and second editions of this publication (1916) were soon exhausted and called for a more comprehensive memoir on the subject including original observations and measurements of some of the more important discoveries made since 1916. Though numerous individual contributions have been published on the recent finds, it was felt that a single treatise dealing with all the ancient cultural and skeletal remains of man in a complete form co-ordinating the results and observations of workers, in different centres of research, was still a great desideratum.

This new and larger work of Hrdlicka, whose principal aim is to present accurate and comprehensive information of the earlier and recent discoveries, must ever remain a classic, possessing a deep and abiding interest and permanent reference value to students of palæontology and anthropology. The great merit of the work which invests it with authority is, that in almost every case dealt with by the author, the fossil remains have been personally and repeatedly examined and original measurements taken by modern and well-tested instruments and the sites of discoveries visited and re-explored, besides consultation with those responsible for the finds. The accounts of these re-investigations are couched in an impersonal form, for according to the author, "there will be no theory to defend, no side to be taken in any controversy", while suggestions may be made which are justified by the more intimate acquaintance with the subject and "viewing it from the detached standpoint of one not directly involved in any discovery and therefore not having to defend any particular opinions",

The book opens with a consideration of the glacial period and the fact that, "the palæontological evidence and human pre-history do not generally conform to the theory of a quadruple European glaciation with three intervening warm periods", has led the author to reconstruct several approximate charts of cultural sub-divisions of the period of early man and their correlation with the geological conditions, which are now generally accepted. The importance of the Ice Age which witnessed the origin and development of man also makes it a difficult study and Hrdlicka after an extensive investigation has compounded the various views as regards the estimates of the sub-divisions, into a chronology shown in the tables on pp. 14, 15, 16, 19 and 20.

The study of the early remains of man and his craftsmanship must at all times possess a profound interest for the scientist and the general public. The worked flints which connect man with some phase of prehistoric industry occur in profusion and almost in a complete state of preservation, while his bones and other non-perishing parts like teeth occur sometimes in a condition which has led palæontologists to express contradictory opinions about the kinship of their possessor and the time when he flourished. A typical case is the jaw of Foxhall, which Collyer and Osborn referred to the Tertiary period but which Busk summarily dismissed as the "Jaw of some old woman, perhaps from some Roman burial ground". The measurements of the jaw as deduced from a given dimension and the illustration point to a more or less modern male bone and the development of the chin conforming to modern-like facial features deprives this find of any very great antiquity and Hrdlicka declares that "the Foxhall jaw fails to establish its right as representative of Tertiary man".

The circumstances which led to the discovery of the Apelike man of Java (*Pithecanthropus*) are interesting. The finds of human remains in 1856 in the Neanderthal cave and subsequently in Belgium and Gibraltar had fired the imagination of Dr. Eugene Dubois who had known the scientific predictions of Darwin, Layell, Wallace and Virchow and sought to discover the remains of the "Missing Link," in the fluviatile deposits of Indo-Malay Islands. He sacrificed his scientific career in the University of Amsterdam and accepted a commission as an army surgeon in the Dutch Indies. His expectation to discover the fossil remains of

the missing link in the East was founded on faunistic considerations like the distribution of the gibbons, the occurrence of anthropoid apes in the Tertiary formations of India and on the general affinity of the extinct mammalian remains of the Indo-Malayan region and of the Tertiary fauna of the Indian Siwaliks to which attention was drawn by Martin in 1886. His earlier labours in Sumatra, in 1888, where neither human bones nor artifacts were discovered, convinced him that the cave fauna of this island was too recent to provide him with the evidence he was seeking to obtain. After receiving fossil fragments of human skull from Java discovered by van Rietschoten in 1889, Dubois transferred his activity to this island where two fields of investigation promised fruitful results and proceeded to explore the cave deposits for human remains and also to search for mammalian fossils which would establish Siwalik affinities. Arriving in Java in 1890 Dubois soon discovered that the vertebrate remains, principally mammalian and reptilian, while showing local distinct peculiarities, bore unmistakable affinity with the Pliocene Siwalik fauna of India, though really belonging to a latter horizon representing the Pliocene-Pleistocene transition stage. He found at Trinil on the left bank of the Bengawan, in the Kendeng deposits of the water-shed, a fragment of the lower jaw of man with alveoli of the canine and the first and second premolars. At intervals and in separate situations but belonging to the same horizon he collected three molar teeth, the famous skull cap and a thigh bone,—finds which Dubois' scientific imagination has visualized. Almost every important discovery in science, perhaps as a rule, pretty nearly succeeds in establishing hostile camps and that of Dubois was no exception. The conflict centred in the problems,—Is the skull really human or that of an ape? Do all the finds belong to the same individual? Do they belong to the same age, Pliocene or Pleistocene? These questions interested the palæontologists, zoologists and anthropologists and among those who participated either in the examination of the finds or in the subsequent discussion may be mentioned Manouvrier, Cunningham, Turner, Flower, Virchow, Marsh, Milne Edwards, Weinert, Osborn and others. Marsh, in giving a summary of the objections of some of the writers, though personally he held views conforming to those of the discoverer, wrote in the *American Journal of Science* (1896) that, "the various remains discovered

were human and of no great age ; that they did not belong to the same individual ; that the skull apparently pertained to an idiot and that both the skull and the femur showed pathological features." Cunningham thought that the skull was to be regarded as human presenting some neanderthaloid characters, while Virchow was of opinion that it belonged to a gibbon. Turner was inclined to favour the view of Cunningham and Nehring and, while agreeing that the skull and femur belonged to the same individual, doubted whether the remains represented a being in direct or collateral line to man. Weinert demonstrated that the skull of the Java ape-like man resembled that of the chimpanzee and not that of the gibbon. According to him the teeth belonged to the same individual and the femur, judged from its state of fossilization and the circumstances of its discovery, must also belong to the same form. He really thinks that the creature assumed an erect posture in locomotion. Hrdlicka who, through the intercession of Woodward, had the opportunity of examining all the originals in the possession of Dubois, accounts for the widely divergent views expressed by the previous writers as due to the fact that none of the casts and the published illustrations of the skull that are found in the different institutions are wholly faithful to the fossils. Not content with the personal study of the originals, Hrdlicka visited the exact spot and the vicinity where the skull was taken and the beautiful photographs he has published must convey to the readers an idea of the extraordinarily interesting nature of the country and the excellent reproductions of the original photographs of the specimens must impress anyone of the very satisfactory condition of their preservation. To these advantages is added a complete list of bibliography. Hrdlicka expresses no opinion as regards the age of the Java material, but quotes Schuster from Salenka-Blanckenhorn Memoir that the *Pithecanthropus* lived in the old Diluvian (early Quaternary or Upper Pleistocene) and apparently is not inclined to the view of Dubois (Pliocene) or of Osborn (Mid-Pleistocene). The contention and speculation which have raged round the Java finds are due largely to the inadequacy of the material for purposes of comparison, but judging from the published records one will readily appreciate Hrdlicka's remark that "the Trinil skull alone is sufficient to establish the presence in what is now Java, somewhere during the early Quaternary and

possibly earlier, of a class of beings that so resembled the anthropoid apes on the one hand and came so far in the direction of man on the other, that if they were to be named to-day, we would hardly find a more appropriate name for them than *Pithecanthropus*".

The discovery (1907) of an ancient human jaw in the Mauer sandstones not far from Heidelberg, described by Otto Schoetensack in 1908 under the title *H mo heidelbergensis* is remarkable in more ways than one. The find, the lower jaw of an adult, is a normal, clearly authenticated and well-defined specimen which happily is free from controversy. The teeth of the jaw are larger, more regular and less crowding than modern teeth and the lower border of the jaw is arched in a Cupid's bow and the chin is absent. The age of the jaw is lower Quaternary and perhaps the Heidelberg man was a contemporary of *Elephas antiquus*, *Rhinoceros etruscus* and *Felis leo fossilis*.

Four years after the Heidelberg man was described, Charles Dawson, a Sussex lawyer who had devoted his leisure to the collection of fossils in the Sussex Weald, in collaboration with Woodward applied the name *Eoanthropus* to a number of fragments of a human-like skull, a portion of the lower jaw, a separate canine tooth found between 1909 and 1912 in the old gravels of Piltdown, Sussex. To this lot were added by Dawson in 1915 another skull and a molar tooth. Unfortunately the acrimonious controversy which raged round the Java find, has been repeated over the Piltdown fossils. (Complete notes embodying the essential data on the specimens published by Woodward and other writers together with Hrdlicka's observations on the originals will be found on pp. 71-90 in which Keith's drawing of the brain cast and Woodward's photographs of the specimens are also reproduced.) The chief point of interest is that the bones are massive, apparently belonging to a female adult individual. Both Woodward and Keith consider that it is typically human; Elliot Smith sees in the skull a number of primitive characters; Hrdlicka, however, does not assign to these peculiarities any phylogenetic significance. The jaw is certainly far more primitive than any other known type relating to early man, and bears a close resemblance to that of the chimpanzee. But the features of the teeth, though apparently simulating those of Dryopithecus, differ from these, being more human. The Piltdown man *Eoanthropus* belongs to the Lower Quaternary.

Over forty pages of the book are devoted to a detailed consideration of the Rhodesian fossil remains, based on Hrdlicka's personal investigations in 1925. The account is enriched by the correspondence from the original discoverers and this section of the book makes the most enjoyable part. While working the Broken Hill Mine, Northern Rhodesia, the workmen in 1921 discovered a remarkable human skull, and unfortunately the work of excavation was not under scientific supervision. From the same cave, numerous mammalian bones, chiefly of ungulates and carnivores and of birds have been collected besides numerous stone implements of protohistoric and prehistoric times. The bone cavern is believed to have been the feasting place of the African Bushmen and Negroes and the larger carnivores who brought in the ungulates and the cannibalistic orgies must account for the human bones discovered in this situation but how the Rhodesian skull got mixed up with these other remains must be a mystery. This chapter includes copious extracts from the scientific reports of the British Museum authorities, correspondence, splendid photographs of the material and a most vivid description of the mining area together with a table of measurements by the author. The skull and other human remains with the collar bone, pelvis, femur, humerus and numerous stray teeth were described by Pycraft ; the endocranial cast was entrusted to Elliot Smith ; the associated stone implements were dealt with by Yearsley ; the teeth of the Rhodesian Man, by Carter ; the other vertebrate remains by Hopwood, Swinton and Bate. The introduction to the memoir was written by Bather. Pycraft was inclined to create a new genus (*Cyphanthropus*) for the reception of the skull, " because he saw more in the morphology of the additional remains than others can see " and the effort to associate organically these bones with the skull has not met with favour. From a purely structural viewpoint, the skull considered by itself, belongs to the Neanderthal family, though it may possess characteristics some of which are inferior and others superior to anything yet known of the Neanderthal Man. The brain cast shows definite human characters possibly related to those of the Neanderthals, but certainly superior to both *Pithecanthropus* and *Eoanthropus*. As regards the pathological condition of the bone, Yearsley concludes that the Rhodesian Man was a sufferer for a considerable time from sepsis, as evidenced by the condition of his

teeth and the alveolar border. This chronic septic condition of the mouth must have affected the mastoid bones, and his death was due to an enormous abscess which tracking down the temporal fossa through the neck, must have finally burst into the thorax. This conclusion must be purely hypothetical. The stone implements, which cannot be associated with the skull, bear no marks of palæolithic industries. They look rather like the implements of recent S. African stone industries. The interest in the study of the vertebrate remains discovered at Broken Hill' is the measure of indication which they would point to as regards the age of the skull and with the exception of *Rhinoceros whitei* and a new species of Serval cat, others belong to species still living in Rhodesia. As regards the affinities of Rhodesian Skull, as is only to be expected, there are differences of opinion. Woodward regards him as a primitive species of true Man, without Mousterian affinity; Elliot Smith remarks that the skull represents a type of mankind far more primitive than any known except *Pithecanthropus* and *Eoanthropus*; Keith regards him as near ancestor of Neanderthal and modern man. As Pycraft expresses it, the Neanderthal affinity of Rhodesian Man is borne out by the likeness of the latter with the Gibraltar and La Chapelle skulls. This section which is part of the results obtained by him in his Smithsonian Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences expedition (1925) concludes with Hrdlicka's own description of the Rhodesian finds and a bibliography is given. Two appendices are added which contain abstracts from original reports on the Rhodesian cave, lists of all the discoveries and the article of Harris on the mystery of the Great Bone Cave published in the *Illustrated London News* (1921). We can hardly expect a more satisfactory, complete and dispassionate account of a most remarkable series of finds.

The rest of the book is devoted to a critical exposition of the vast store of collection of material known comprehensively as Neanderthal. The area from which skeletal remains and artifacts were obtained includes the middle and the southern portion of Western Europe and the western-most parts of Asia. They are dated by the distinctive, "Mousterian", culture so called after the type-locality at Le Moustier in Southern France, obviously belonging to the latter third of the Glacial epoch. On page 145 of the book is given a tabular statement setting forth

in chronological order the places of the principal finds, the contents and the names of authors who have reported on them. As Hrdlicka states, the great interest in the study of the Neanderthal Man and his implements "lies in the evolutionally decidedly lower characteristics of the remains and in the seemingly rapid extinction of the variety, not long after the last glaciation, upon the supposed advent from somewhere else of *Homo sapiens*. All this is of interest to the student of palæontology and to that of cultural anthropology. The chapter is profusely illustrated with excellent diagrams and photographs and its value is enriched by copious extracts from the leading authorities and a complete list of literature on the subject. More than all, the author's notes and measurements based on personal studies are extremely important and the chapter makes the nearest approach to an authoritative and complete exposition of practically all the finds. Apart from the intrinsic merit of the Neanderthal finds, they have the added interest of inspiring Dubois and Dawson to look for other similar discoveries which culminated in the taking of *Pithecanthropus* and *Eoanthropus*. The gorge and the valley which gave the human skeleton in 1856, originally called "Gesteins" or rocks, were the favourite haunt of Joachim Neander, a poet and song-composer of the German Reformed Church, whose name was later adopted in preference to Gesteins. Lying between Dusseldorf and Elberfeld, the gorge and valley, little known to anthropologists till 1856, were the favourite spots for school and other excursions. Though Fuhlrott and a little later Schaoffhausen have published notes on the earlier discoveries, their importance was appreciated only in 1886, when Puydt and Max Lohest found parts of two fossils similar to the Neanderthal in Spy in Belgium. Before the Spy and Gibraltar skeletal remains were obtained, there was the usual controversy as to the real significance of Neanderthal Cranium. Virchow and Bernard Davis regarded the specimen as pathological; Blake thought that it probably belonged to an idiot. When new examples were forthcoming, the recognition was gaining ground, that all these remains represented in a normal and most characteristic way, a most interesting earlier phase or variety of Mankind, "our later Quaternary predecessor or relative, *Homo neanderthalensis*". It is to be remembered that the credit for doing work in this field is due especially to Prof. G. Schwalbe

of Strassburg, whose numerous publications on the early forms of human remains in Europe are well known to anthropologists. In commenting on the Spy finds Hrdlicka writes, "They are without question the most important ever made in relation to the problem of transition from the Neanderthal to the more modern forms of man. Here in practically one grave, certainly at the same level and under the same associations, are found two skeletons, one of which is in many respects still typically Neanderthal; but the jaws and the teeth of this skeleton and the skull of the second subject are far in advance of the Neanderthal stage and correspondingly nearer to modern man. No better demonstration could have been furnished or could reasonably be wished for, of the transitional potentialities among the later Neanderthal representatives, to which the skeletons evidently belong, towards the modern human type." To-day the problem is not a single skull or two as in the time of Darwin, but a large body of material, representing an important section of man's antiquity, "documented ever more geologically, palæontologically and anthropologically". The generalised present doctrine about Neanderthal man is that he is an archaic species of man, possibly a retrogression in the line of evolution of mankind; he represented a culture known as Mousterian; he was abruptly succeeded by Aurignacians; he lived long subsequent to the time of Java and Heidelberg men; he is not an ancestor of ours.

Hrdlicka could only make a passing reference to the new finds of importance made in China. Davidson Black called some ancient human remains found between 1920 and 1927 in evidently Pleistocene deposits at Chou Kou Tien, 25 miles from Peking, by the name of *Sinanthropus pekinensis* in 1927. These discoveries consisted of a portion of an adult skull and the symphyseal part of a child's lower jaw, many teeth, parts of the calvarium of a juvenile individual, and a nearly complete adult calvarium. The human remains have thus far been found in five separate loci; for the most part the remains are embedded in hard travertine; and they are associated with mammalian fossil fauna that is believed to be Lower Quaternary.

On December 2, 1929, while interesting investigations on these were still proceeding, W. C. Pei discovered an uncrushed and almost complete adult Sinanthropus skull while excavating a sheltered recess of the main deposit at Chou Kou Tien. The left

half of the skull below the temporal square was embedded in very hard travertine and the nasal and part of the glabellar region was similarly enclosed. The base was fairly free from travertine. The supraorbital ridges are massive as could be expected from the jaw. They are apparently equal in development to those of the *Pithecanthropus*. The frontal and parietal development of *Sinanthropus* is much more advanced than Java type, but the frontal development is apparently less than in *Eoanthropus*. *Sinanthropus* is of approximately similar length to *Pithecanthropus*, but its shape implies a considerably larger volume than the latter. *Sinanthropus* characteristically differs from the Java type in the following important features: relatively well-developed frontal eminences, well localized parietal eminences and greater height of skull vault, pointing to a relatively greater brain capacity in *Sinanthropus*. The mastoid processes in the latter are small and massive. The sockets in which the lower jaw articulated are well preserved.

Certainly, the Peking discoveries are of decided importance as they show us the presence of early man much farther east than he has been previously known or legitimately suspected. Hrdlicka regards the view of the age of the skull as earlier Quaternary as possibly subject to revision. He considers the skull to be clearly Neanderthaloid, representing no distinct genus, species, or even a pronounced variety, but corresponding rather to the better-developed specimens of the Neanderthaler, such as the Galilee skull. Of course, even a later Neanderthaler in China would, however, be a discovery of much interest as well as importance.

Hrdlicka had not the advantage of personal investigations and inspections of these as in the case of the other early remains of man at the time of the publication of his great work. In the "Recent progress in the field of old world prehistory" by George Grant Maccurdy in Publication 3100 of the Smithsonian Institution, its age is accepted as Lower Quaternary, based on the report of Père Teilhard de Chardin and Dr. C. C. Young who worked at the spot and collected the evidence, as contrasted with Black's statement of a greater brain capacity in *Sinanthropus*, while the characteristics are attributed to the greater thickness of its cranium.

Sir Arthur Keith in his new discoveries relating to the *Antiquity of Man*, Chapters XVII and XVIII which deal with the

Peking finds, regards the jaw of *Sinanthropus* as supplying one of the missing evolutionary stages which makes it possible to conceive how the Simian plate of the ape could be transformed into the mental eminence of man, a position seemingly impossible in that the human symphyseal region was different from that of the ape (p. 263 *et seq.*). He further says: "Peking man proved to be....an amazingly low type, unexpectedly like the Java man in form of skull and size of brain. *Sinanthropus*, however, is distinctly higher in the scale of evolving humanity than is *Pithecanthropus*; his brain is somewhat bigger; no doubt, in his brain cast we shall find evidence that certain cortical areas had made advances on the Java brain. The Peking skull shows very decided affinities to the Neanderthal type. In the teeth and jaws, and in that region of the skull which surrounds the ear, we find leanings towards the modern type of man." Thus, "*Sinanthropus* appears to represent one of the earliest and most generalized forms of humanity known to us at present," and "his point of emergence from the phylogenetic tree is set between the place assigned to *Pithecanthropus* on the one hand and that given to Neanderthal man on the other." The utmost that can be said of these epoch-making discoveries is that the *Pithecanthropus erectus* was a being that well deserved the name of "a human transitional form from Java" which can show us the way followed in human evolution from the lower forms. "Just as the next lower relations of this form were still animals, while the next higher relation was undoubtedly man, so may the *Pithecanthropus* be the 'missing link' that Dubois was searching for and found. Should it be necessary, however, to substantiate the appurtenance of this intermediary form to one or the other side then it belongs undoubtedly to that of the human kind. The *Pithecanthropus erectus* is a *Homo* whose unique position and its undisputed significance justify the generic name of 'Ape Man'." How far the *Sinanthropus* can be regarded as a descendant from the *Pithecanthropus* in the evolutionary scale of man is a problem which requires further elucidation and investigation. No implements have been found to help our study of human beings into association with some definite phase of industry. There is no doubt, however, that *Sinanthropus* is a member of the human family, distinct from all other known human types and deserving a separate generic rank. He represents a more primitive type,

whether older or not than the fossils found in Java and Sussex, and he is obviously close to the main line of descent of modern man.

We must here resist our temptation to go into the further details of these most fascinating chapters of the book which for purity of style, a judicious presentation of facts and above all an all-pervading scientific candour, is entitled to high praise. We cannot lay it down without expressing our admiration for the selfless and painstaking industry, the passion for truth, the laborious research, freedom from partisanship which are discernible almost in every page, and which confer on the book itself the power of being used as an authoritative and invaluable text of reference by students alike of palæontology and anthropology.

C. R. N.

Indian Culture through the Ages, Vol. II.

BY S. V. VENKATESWARA, M.A.

(*Longmans, Green & Co., London*, 12*s.* 6*d.*)

IN this volume, Prof. Venkateswara purports to sketch the public life in India from the earliest ages to the beginnings of British Rule, relying on original sources, and the subsidy of the Mysore University has made it possible to publish this work. Unless we are able to differentiate political philosophy and speculation from public life and the civic institutions with which it is associated, it will not at all be possible to trace how in later times life, ideas and ideals themselves came to be crystallized.

In the light of original sources the author has attempted a characterization of Vedic polity, post-Vedic development, both in ideals and in actual practice ; has elaborated the political institutions of the Mauryans ; has offered an explanation of several difficult expressions such as Ibhya, Janya, Vāchamhi, Vyavahāra and the like,—though his interpretation of the last Vyavahāra as Case Law may not be acceptable in preference to its usual connotation as Judicial Procedure. Again, his predicating a regular constitution and not a despotism for Asōka is hardly reconcilable with the Professor's later statement that Asōka's was a paternal and benevolent monarchy working on constitutional principles. It ought not to be difficult, at this time of day, to

describe his administration as an undisguised despotism of a single will, restrained, perhaps, by the noble and exalted character of a remarkable ruler of ascetic leanings, who was ever ready to shift the burdens of sovereignty on to a faithful and disciplined bureaucracy.

Prof. Venkateswara relies on Bhāsā's dramas for describing the duties of the king and his council and on Sūdraka's *Mrichakatika* for the administration of justice in olden days, regarding these as equal in authority with Hieun Tsiang's travels for this purpose. Perhaps, for ideal pictures of those days, these works could have been referred to along with Kurral and Kāmandaka.

The Afghan Polity in India was based on the Persian model for civil administration and for its military organization on the Turkish system, this Cromwellian rule being limited by the fear of the nobles, rebellion within and invasion from abroad. The tyranny and exclusiveness of these pale men in petticoats may have been exaggerated, but, exceptions apart, it cannot be asserted that the Delhi Sultans were 'remarkable for speedy justice' or that 'judicial power seems to have been wielded fairly well by the Sultans'.

While the administrative system of Sivāji has received quite a full treatment, with a proper setting for the Peshwas and their efforts at the amelioration of the ryots, it is to be regretted that perhaps for want of space, the culture of the Vijayanagara period has not received the treatment it deserved at the hands of one who is himself so well versed in its history and its traditions. Coming on to later times, the prohibition of *sati* might have found appropriate mention.

In the closing pages of the volume, Prof. Venkateswara endeavours to appraise the true aims of the Vedic Ṛṣis as being originally Ṛta and Satya, Dharma being a later addition. To harmonize the ideal and the real, to sublimate the instincts of the flesh to the quests of the spirit, and to point out the true keynote of Hindu culture have always been the essential features of our age, and this volume gives expression to these in abundant measure.

S. S.

Isavasyopanisat

EDITED BY Y. SUBRAHMANYA SARMA

(*Published by Adhyātma Prakāśa Press Book Depot, Bangalore City. Price As. 6*)

MR. SUBRAHMANYA SARMA is a learned Sanskrit scholar who has attempted to issue the Upaniṣat-bhāṣya of Śrī Śankarāchārya at a moderate price to the public. He has furnished each volume with an introduction and short notes on points of interest.

An important feature of the book is that it contains copious references to parallel passages from the other works of Śrī Śankarāchārya. Its usefulness is enhanced by the addition of a summary of the Upaniṣat and indices of mantras and of important words in the bhāṣya.

This noble attempt deserves every encouragement.

N. I.

The Sphotasiddhi

EDITED BY VEDAVISĀRADA S. K. RAMANĀTHA ŚĀSTRI

(*Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 6. Price Rs. 3*)

IMPULSES of fear and other feelings may be communicated by acoustic expressions. But the sphere of the word is far more comprehensive inasmuch as ideas of cause and effect or substance and form can also be expressed thereby. This peculiarity of the word is called "sphoṭa" by the School of Pāṇini. For instance, on the utterance of the word cow, images of cows of different colour and form present themselves to the hearers. Sphoṭa is thus the potency of a word to evoke in individuals thought-images. The greatest exponent of this doctrine is Āchārya Maṇḍanamiśra. So far, two works have been published on the subject—Sphoṭa Chandrika of Choukāmba Benares Series and Spoṭasiddhinyāyavichāra of Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The work under review has a splendid commentary called Gōpālikā which is the work of Ṛṣiputra Parameśvara belonging to the Payyoor Bhaṭṭathirippad family in Malabar.

The Editor deserves to be congratulated on the scholarly manner in which he has presented the work. The printing and get-up of the book are excellent.

N. I.

Neo-Hinduism

BY D. V. ATHALYE

(*D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Rs. 5-8-0*)

WHAT Brahmo Samaj was to modern Bengal, the Ārya Samaj was to the Punjab and the Rāmakrishna Mission to all India, in a sense, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. New elements fused with the old and reformers rose afresh to propound the glories of the Vedanta to a somewhat decadent India under the materialistic tendencies of the age. In the teachings of the Brahmo Samaj itself, there was no appeal to the masses, and hence except amongst the 'intellectuals' who wanted a creed to sanction their 'rationalistic' practices, there was little response. But the teachings of Śrī Rāmakrishna Paramahaṁsa and Svāmi Dayanand Sarasvati were of a different type. While Svāmi Dayanand preached with the Vedas, pure and simple and undiluted as his text bereft of extraneous ritual and practice, Śrī Rāmakrishna and his disciple held to the basic belief that the soul is infinite, that it was never created, that it will never die, that it had to pass and evolve into various bodies, till it attained perfection in the human one. This mission of the Vedanta, it was the purpose of the Rāmakrishna Homes to spread throughout the world. That is well indicated in the book before us.

Opening with a short sketch of the Life of Vivekananda, Mr. Athalye gives what he regards as the sage's interpretation of Bhakti, Jñāna, Karma, Rājayoga and practical Vedanta. Bhakti and Jñāna are but different paths to the same goal. Karmayoga helps to win half the battle, where to work is to worship. Rājayoga is the science of the self-realization in life of the infinity and identity of the Godhead, through intense concentration of mind. A magnificent and bewitching personality, great patriotism, a rare catholicity and commendable tolerance and outlook even in religious matters, and a zealous appeal to the world for self-realization were the predominant characteristics of this great religious reformer whose work is continued with vigour all over the world. A work which deals with these matters scattered over scores of volumes and presents a well-arranged narrative to the reader deserves every encouragement.

R.

A Primer of Indian Logic

BY MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA VIDYĀVĀCASPATI
S. KUPPUSWĀMI SĀSTRI, M.A., I.E.S.

(*P. Varadachary & Co., Madras.*)

THIS little book on Navya-Nyāya is based upon Annambaṭṭa's Tarkasaṁgraha and is designed to serve as an introduction to the study of Indian logic in its syncretist form of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika dealing with the twin aspects of sound reasoning, namely, the synthetic or deductive aspect which moves on from the universal to the particulars and to the analytic or inductive aspect which mounts up from particulars to the general or universal.

In Indian logic, deduction and induction do not represent two mutually exclusive types of inference but they are always looked upon as inseparably connected parts of a complete process of thinking called inference and the chief function of anumāna as a means of valid cognition is to enable one to realize how certain facts are inseparably and necessarily connected with each other in accordance with a general principle.

The learned author has clearly shown that Indian logic never allowed itself to be restricted in its scope and development to the exclusively formal side of ratiocination but always kept in view, as its constant, knowledge or more accurately knowledge of truth in relation to what is conceived of as *summum bonum*.

The book is well printed and beautifully got up. It contains, in addition to the text and translation, an interesting introduction and an illuminating exposition by the learned author. It is of great value to students of Indian logic.

N. I.

Best Short Stories of India

SELECTED AND EDITED BY PHYLLIS ATKINSON, B.SC.

(*D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. 2 Vols. Rs. 4 each*)

AN interesting series of stories of Indian folk tales, etc., from the several issues of the *Indian Antiquary* have been collected in these two volumes and serve to give a peep into the social and spiritual ideals of the Hindus. Their primary aim is entertainment and not dull sermonising and they amply fulfil the purpose.

R.

Rock Temples Around Bombay

BY K. H. VAKIL, B.A., LL.B.

(*Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 3*)

THIS book ought to form a very useful and handy guide to visitors to the famous caves at Elephanta, Jogeswari, Mantapeswar and Kanheri, all within a few miles' reach from Bombay. Mr. Vakil's book on Ajanta profusely illustrated with specimens of Indian temples and attractively got up was a judicious summing up of the case for the celebrated Ajanta caves ; and in this work under review he has sought to record the achievements in sculpture and architecture fostered by Brahmanism. His object is to help us to visualise the story of the evolution of India's artistic heritage and analyse and elucidate its significance.

We have no doubt that this book is a valuable one to the students of Indian art for a proper appreciation and revaluation of the extant specimens.

S. S.

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1. Virabhadra Vijaya

BY VIRABHADRA NRIPALA (*Price Rs. 1–4–0*)

2. Anantanatha Purana

BY JANNA (*Price Rs. 2*)

(*Published by the University of Mysore.*)

UNDER the auspices of the Mysore University, Oriental Library Publications, Kannada Series Nos. 17 and 18, have been published, under the editorship of D. Srinivasachar and others. The author of the first of these is Vīrabhadra Nṛpala, Keladi ruler. The date of the book appears to have been 1,530 A.D. In a detailed introduction, Mr. M. S. Basavalingia shows how the author is indebted to his father's work, Tribhuvana Tilaka. The edition has been undertaken on the basis of only one MS. available in the library.

Janna's Anantanātha Purāṇa is a well-known work of this emperor of poets. Janna was not merely a poet, but also a famous warrior and an able minister. Several inscriptions are traced to him. He did much for the propagation of Jainism in his day.

The excellence of old Kannada works can well be illustrated from these and other publications of the series. And it is very much to be wished that their proper place in Kannada literature will not be allowed to be lost. S. S.

The Prachi, Vol. I, Parts I, II & III

THIS journal, devoted to the study of the past history of Utkal or Kalinga, is an outcome of the patriotism of its people and we extend our cordial greetings to it. Orissa played a not unimportant part in the history of India. Its share in the oversea activities of India has been fully narrated in Part II. Its later history is just touched upon by Mr. G. Ramdas. Orissa has also made a distinct contribution to Indian architecture by a style of its own.

R.

India and the World

UNDER the distinguished editorship of Dr. Kalidas Nag, this new monthly is being issued as an organ of internationalism and cultural federation, published by the Indian Bureau. The social, political, economic and cultural problems of India have undoubtedly a direct bearing upon contemporary history and the necessity for a magazine of this kind to focus the different international organizations of the world upon India cannot be gainsaid.

The June issue of this periodical contains an article on woman's rôle in Rajput history by Ramesh Chandra Mitra. Mirabai is well known. In the days of utter helplessness and decay of Mewar under Rana Bhim Singh, her father, in order to ward off the rivalry of Man Singh of Jodhpur and Jagat Singh of Jaipur each of whom sought her hand in marriage on pain of the country being ruined, Krishna Kumari took poison and died, imploring her afflicted mother to grieve not for her who was not afraid of death. Rani Durgavati of Gondwana as regent raised her petty state to the rank of one of the most progressive kingdoms of the day. The Rani of Jhansi, Lakṣmi Bai, was described by Sir Hugh Rose as the best and bravest military leader of the rebels in the days of the Sepoy Mutiny.

The Annamalai University Journal

The Annamalai University has commenced the publication of a journal, the first volume of which is before us. A highly talented editorial board has been constituted with Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu as Editor. Of the several articles in the magazine may be mentioned, Village Organization in the Madras Presidency at the Time of the Introduction of British Rule by C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., the Chidambaram Temple by V. G. Ramakrishna Ayyar, and the Kerala Theatre by K. Rama Pisaroti, as being of interest to the members of the Mythic Society.

Sri Mukundamala

EDITED BY K. RAMA PISAROTI

(*Journal of the Annamalai University. Annamalai University Sanskrit Series, No. 1*)

MUKUNDAMALA is a highly felicitous hymn of nine verses by Kulaśēkhara in praise of Lord Sri Kṛṣṇa as Mukunda (bestower of Mokṣa). Its publication with the instructive commentary of Rāghavānanda called Tātparyadīpika is, therefore, a welcome addition to the devotional literature in Sanskrit ; and no apology is, therefore, necessary to quote the last verse in the Mālā :—

भवजलधिगतानां द्वन्द्ववाताहतानां
सुतदुहितृकळत्रत्राणभारार्दितानां ।
विषमविषयतोये मज्जतामप्लवानां
भवतु शरणमेको विष्णुपोतो नराणाम् ॥

N. I.

Buddhist Remains of Andhra Desa and its History up to 600 A.D.

BY K. R. SUBRAMANIAM, M.A.

THIS publication of the Āndhra University serves to remind us of the glorious part in the history of Indian Buddhism played by the Āndhras and of their maritime enterprise. Though not a pioneering work, it yet contains, as a result of careful observation and deep study, a concise account of the famous Buddhist ruins of Amarāvati, Nagārjuni Konda and other places, in addition to the general history of Āndhradeśa up to 600 A.D. based upon available materials.

It is difficult to accept Mr. Subramaniam's views regarding the home of the Satavāhanas and the effect of Brahmanism on the status of Indian women, particularly when the Guptas were proud of their maternal relations, when the Chālukyans entrusted their queens with provincial administration, and when even in Vijayanagar, women served in the secretariat offices. Besides, his description of the Kadambas as pirates is erroneous, though professedly based on Tamilian tradition. Nevertheless, we heartily welcome this book as a valuable contribution to the study of the Āndhradeśa and the South Indian Peninsula.

R.

Bhaktibhandari Basavannanavaru

BY M. R. SRINIVASAMURTHI, B.A.

(*Karnataka Sangha, Central College, Bangalore.*)

BASAVANNA, the Lingayet Reformer, has been attracting the attention of scholars for some time past and this excellent Kannada work on the great Vīra Śaiva is one more contribution to the literature of the Lingayets. As a critical appreciation of Basava's work, the volume before us leaves little to be desired, and we find here clearly and well traced the extant traditional accounts of the Reformer and his life, his spiritual struggles in the cause of the reformation he was anxious to bring about, his relations with Bijjala, his Kalachurya Master, which, according to the author, exonerate Basava from any complicity with the murder of his king. The democratic fervour of Basaveśvara's teachings, which, we may note in passing, are well exemplified in the extracts already published by Śrīman Hale Katti and others, is well brought out. These and an insistence on the dignity of labour, are, however, hardly reconcilable with his theory of the doctrine of exclusive salvation. It is still a moot point how far Basava was influenced in his teaching by the prevailing Śaivism of his day in South India and by the preaching of Kasmere Śaivism, though Mr. Srinivasamurthi seems to regard the Chola Śaivites as having inspired the Lingayet revival.

The book is neatly got up and contains several illustrations. Written in an elegant, vigorous and attractive style, it serves as a good handbook on the study of the Lingayet religion.

R.

A Manual of Classical Sanskrit Literature

BY R. VASUDEVA SARMA

(*Printed at Murugavilas Jananukoola Press, Trichinopoly.*)

TO deal, however, briefly with the history of the origin and development of classical literature in a brochure of sixty-three pages is to attempt an impossibility.

The learned writer has, therefore, contented himself by giving a list of the more important works on kāvya, drama, prose romances, lyric poetry, the champus, popular tale, fable and technical literature as also their authors.

Mr. Vasudeva Sarma could well have increased the bulk of the book and entered into details by discussing the place of each work and its author and, what is more important, by an examination of the work itself on the basis of its language and style. The booklet has, nevertheless, served a useful purpose in giving an idea of the vast field that lies unexplored in the sphere of classical literature.

N. I.

Four Kannada Dramas

Ashadhabhuti—BY A. N. MURTI RAO.
Savina Samasye—BY V. VENKATACHARYA.
Parijata—BY B. NARAHARI SASTRI.
Vicharane—BY DEVUDU.

WE congratulate the Kārnataka Sangha of the Maharaja's College, Mysore, on the two new dramas which they have published. Hitherto, Kannada dramas relied for their plot on the episodes contained mostly in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and other Sanskrit works. It is true some twenty years ago attempts were made to translate into Kannada several plays of Shakespeare and Prof. B. M. Srikantia introduced a leaven of Greek culture into Kannada literature. We are glad to find that similar enrichment from prominent works of the world's authors has been taking place. *Āshāḍhabhūti* (Price 0-12-0) of A. N. Murti Rao is a nice adaptation of Molière's *Tartuffe.* Likewise, *Savina Samasye* (Price 1-0-0) of V. Venkatacharya is an adaptation of *Twice Too Much* which itself was based on the well-known *Sleeper Awakened* of the *Arabian Nights.* We hope

that similar renderings on standard lines will appear in due course. These books are well got up and neatly illustrated.

Pārijāta of the Sudhākara Karnātaka Granthāvali series by Bellavi Narahari Sastri, unlike the other two is based on Pārijāta Apaharaṇa contained in the tenth canto of the Bhāgavata. To the plot in the original have been introduced some changes in order to suit the purposes of the drama on the lines, perhaps, of M. D. Alasingrachar's *Śrīmati Pariṇaya.* We are confident that no reader of this little drama will misunderstand the characters of Nārada or Śri Krisṇa, for, as has been pointed out in the preface, the idea is to indicate how even the great ones have to pay a penalty for their follies. The author is quite well known for the excellent Kannada dramas which he has been writing for the stage for some time.

The fourth of the dramas under review is Devudu's *Vichāraṇe* being a Kannada rendering of John Masefield's 'Trial of Jesus'. It is a laudable attempt to familiarise the Kannada public with the vicissitudes of the founder of Christianity and is perhaps calculated to show that in the ultimate resort all religions are one. For, are we not told in the introductory note of Srinivasa a little too graphically, perhaps, that the forgetting that Śiva and Viṣṇu are not different has brought them down into a pugilistic warfare to decide which of them is the superior of the other?

The Indian Literary Review

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MESSRS. D. B. TARAPOREVALA SONS & CO., who have been assisting many a scholar in India in the publication of works on varied subjects, are to be congratulated on their idea of publishing a monthly record of literature. The *Indian Literary Review* fills a real want not only by the articles and notes that appear in it, but by keeping the reader in touch with the world's current literature.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Kavus

TO

THE EDITOR,
QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY,
BANGALORE.

DEAR SIR,

In continuation of my last communication to your Journal (January issue of 1932, pp. 383-385) regarding 'The Kadambas of Vanavasi' in which a mere reference only was made to the sacred groves or forest shrines of the goddesses known as the *Kavus* (and also as the *Vattams* or precincts as in Bhadrakāli-*Vattam*) in Malabar, I propose to give a little more detailed account of them here along with those of other sylvan deities similarly enshrined in these parts, *e.g.*, Śāstā or Ayyappan; Vēttekkaran or Vèttakkāran, Nāgas or the Serpents, Yakshis, etc. These sacred forest shrines seem to have been originally all roofless enclosures open at the top and exposed to the sun and the rain, though modernised later as they are found now.

The Hindu sacred literature makes mention of several sacred groves or woodlands of the goddesses and in addition to the few instances already cited by me in my last paper, one other not less important may also be given here. It is there in the old Purāṇic legend of the transformation of Sudyumna into a woman for having intruded himself with his retinue into the reserve forest of Śiva and Pārvaṭi described as Umā-Vana (the forest of Umā or Pārvati) at the foot of Mount Meru. It was this woman who subsequently gave birth to Purūravas, a Vedic figure and the ancestor of the Aila race or dynasty of kings.*

The temple of the goddess here at Cranganore is a celebrated one known as *Sri Kurumbakkavu* all over Malabar. Leaving the honorific prefix *Sri* aside, *Kurumbakkavu* is explained as *Kuruppa-kavu*, the forest shrine of the small-pox goddess as the

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* *Bhag. P.* IX—I, 22-35 and "सुद्युम्नभावेन उमावनं प्रविष्टस्य वीतासेना स्त्रीभावं प्राप्ता यस्यतस्य स्त्रीभावं प्राप्तस्य पुत्रो वैतसेनः पुरूरवाः"
(Commentator Sridharaswami on *Bhag. P.* XI, 26-35.)

local deity is regarded to be. The word is Sanskritised as *Kurumba Vana* which may also mean the forest of *the Kurumbas* (*Kurubas*) or *the Kurubaka* trees. It is interesting to note and quote here what Prof. K. R. Pisharoti says about this. He writes thus in the Bulletin of the Ramavarma Research Institute, Vol. I, No. I, p. 35 :—" The term Kurumbakkavu also suggests the same idea. For Kuruppa means in Tamil small-pox and Kurumbakkavu may well be taken to mean The *City* of the Goddess of Small-pox. We do find Kurumbakkavu Sanskritised as *Kadambavanam* as found in the expression *Kadambavana-vāsinī* applied to the goddess enshrined in the place, but this Sanskritisation, as is generally the case with such Sanskritisations, is not to be seriously taken into consideration." And so on (italics are mine). One apparent instance of inaccuracy or carelessness here is that the term Kavu, rendered as *Vana* in Sanskrit, is explained as the City instead of the grove. However, one thing is clear that Mr. Pisharoti's information was not well sifted and verified before it was committed to writing. Technically speaking, the central idol here is that of Śiva, and the goddess is only subsidiary in form, but practically the temple is hers, and is known and observed as such ; and her image has been reproduced and is now available in coloured print for sale. Attached to her *sanctum sanctorum*, there is a smaller shrine within the temple *completely* and *permanently* shut up on every side with walls and roof, the secret contents of which therefore remain unknown to all including even the priests. It is a regularly constructed temple now. But there are sacred open enclosures outside within the premises : (1) one on the eastern side not well cleared and therefore covered with creepers and other growths ; (2) another on the western side with a roughly worked figure within known as *Vasūrimāla*, the small-pox goddess (*Vasūri* being a variant of *Masūri* = small-pox) to whom the libations of a red liquid (probably a substitute for blood) prepared with saffron powder and lime, are offered for protection from this dangerous epidemic, and (3) the third, nearly a furlong further away to the south with a small idol within, which is the one now known as *Kurumbayambalam* (Kurumba + Ambalam) or Kurumba-shrine. These are evidently the relics of the early state. Further the Pujaris were, till very recently, pseudo-Brahmins of an inferior caste. The annual cock festival—during

which the animal is slaughtered and offered in sacrifice in large numbers, obscene songs are openly sung and intoxicating drinks are freely indulged in by the devotees of the Nair and lower castes—is still going on. The temple had an inspired prophet *Velichappadu* to direct its affairs and his flock in the right path. This is one of the typical and the most important centres in Malabar of the cult of the Black Goddess, Kāli, in her fierce and terrible aspect.* Mookkōla (Mukti-Sthalam) is another centre of the goddess worship situated about ten miles north of Guruvayur in the Ponnani Taluk (British Malabar) where, not far away from the regular temple, there is an open roofless enclosure containing an idol of big round pebbles piled in the midst of a sacred grove which is treated as more important and holier in virtue of its greater divine sanctity and where the goddess Durga is worshipped in *pure* Brahminical way as the *Sakti* of the *white* cult (*Dakshināchāra*). This deity is considered to be Vana-durga or Vana-devi. Only two typical extreme or opposite instances are given here, but more can be cited.

Śāsta or Ayyappan is another deity similarly enshrined in woodlands and groves. His shrines are found scattered all over the Malabar country. The Sabarimala Pagoda is one of the most important, and in giving a detailed account of it in the July issue of 1930 (pp. 50-57) of *Q.J.M.S.*, Mr. L. A. Krishna Iyer has dealt with the cult of Śāsta at great length and has also mentioned other important centres of his worship in Travancore. I shall, therefore, confine myself to one or two in Cochin and British Malabar. Of these *Tiruvallakkavu* is one in the Cochin State situated three or four miles south of Trichur on the main road side. This Śāsta is considered to be a divine patron of learning and also the tutelary god of the Namburi families of Perumanam village, one member of which related to me the following interesting temple legend:— The shrine was originally a roofless one open above. A very learned Brahmin of an ancient Namburi house situated close by

* For further information, the reader is referred to my paper in 'Mahodayapuram' published in the October Number of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIX and Prof. K. R. Pisharoti's criticism thereon published in the Bulletin above referred to and reviewed in the July Number of *Q.J.M.S.*, 1931.

(Mazhamgalam by name, now extinct) went to the shrine one morning and finding the corpse of a cow lying in the sacred precincts sorrowfully exclaimed 'Alas! What a calamity it was that such a sacred animal was killed in that holy place!' On his usual visit to the shrine next morning he found there a tiger, panther or leopard lying dead being pierced with an arrow at its chest. 'Ah!' he exclaimed in wonder, 'how quick and merciless, though just, was the retribution!' meaning, of course, how soon the wild animal that killed the cow met with its death—the just punishment at the hands of the presiding god. And for permanent pacification of this deity, the learned Brahmin recommended and ordered the roofing and thereby the closing up of the shrine at the top; and it was accordingly reconstructed with closed roof after the ordinary model. *Chamravattam* is an important shrine of Śāsta* in the British Malabar situated on the river-bed a little below Tirunāvāya and Triprangode on the Bharata or Ponnani river of which the Sanskrit name is Nila. All these holy places are mentioned with brief accounts of or allusions to their legends, as Sambarakrōda, Nāvā and Svetāranya respectively in Uddanda Sastri's Kokila-Sandesa (see verses 69-74, Part I). Śāsta is represented as mounted on a quick riding horse with bow and arrows in his hands for hunting. He is also known as Bhūtanātha or Bhūtabharta and as such seems to be akin to Śiva to whom these epithets are generally applied, and is propitiated with prayers and offerings, especially for protection from the evil influences of the malevolent planet Saturn.

Véttekkaran or Véttakkāran is the third deity enshrined in the forests or groves. He is the hunter god, that is, Śiva represented as *Kirāta*, a hunter, in the Puranic works. The story of Arjuna's penance to please Śiva, the latter's appearance on the scene as a hunter, the fight between the two, Arjuna's defeat therein and Śiva's reappearance in his own form and grant of Arjuna's prayers—this story is too well known to all to need repetition

* This Śāsta who is represented by a rough boulder as worked and revealed by Nature (Swayambhū) is said to be a storm-god, *i.e.*, the director of storms for good or for evil; and the destruction or collapse by violent storms of the pandals put up for a session of the Hindu Mahasabha recently arranged to be held at Tirunāvāya is attributed by the local people to the wrath of this god.

here. The important shrines of this deity are chiefly found in the British Malabar where one branch of the Zamorin's family at Kottakkal worships it as its tutelary god, and some local chieftains seem to regard it as such in their households. The dagger is his special weapon.*

With a few exceptions perhaps, the shrines of these deities are resorted to, and their cults are called into service for miraculous cure of devil-possession, protection from evil spirits and exorcism; the inspired prophets who form a conspicuous feature of the temple service in the lower or degraded form, act as the media for communication with the spirit world.

The sacred groves of Nāgas or the Serpents may be found in almost all the compounds of the Malayalee houses in sequestered and uncleaned corners reserved therefor, and the Yakshis and other minor spirits may be looked for in the wayside groves exacting or receiving homage and offerings from the passing travellers. All these cults, though now incorporated into the general body of reformed modern Hinduism and given appropriate places according to their merit and status, seem to have had their origin in the primitive age of magic, animism, fetishism and deification of the departed ancestors, heroes and heroines.

K. RAMAVARMA RAJA.

* For a detailed account of this god with illustrating plate, *vide Annual Report of the Archæological Department*, Cochin State, for 1104 M.E. (1928-29).

EDITORIAL

DURING the quarter, the Mythic Society has again sustained a heavy loss in the death of three of its most valued members. Sir Dorabji Tata who was so well known as a great industrialist, business-man, philanthropist and merchant prince of India was an Honorary Vice-President of the Society and evinced a keen interest in the affairs and the well-being of the institution. Rao Bahadur B. V. Venkataswami Naidu of Bangalore was another business-man who was an enthusiastic member of the Society. Rajasabhabhushana Mr. Karpur Srinivasa Rav, Retired Chief Engineer in Mysore, assisted the management of the Society in its early days in various ways. We offer our deep condolences to the bereaved members of their families.

***

Rev. Father Heras deserves the congratulations of all of us on the successful termination of the First Historical Congress arranged under the auspices of the Bombay Historical Society. It is a matter of special gratification to us that Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar, one of the founders of the Mythic Society, delivered the Presidential Address. The realm of history has been extending both forwards and backwards and the most recent archæological research in India has pushed back our knowledge of ancient India by at least two millenniums, and the work of scholars has conquered new realms in which Indian culture in the past found a home and flourished. Numismatics, architecture, iconography, painting and literature, in addition to contributing important material for our cultural history, have opened up new fields of research for verifying and revising our knowledge of ancient India, and its place in the world's heritage. Everything should, therefore, be done for the promotion of enterprise to collect every material of any importance, for its preservation in the country and for its utilization by expert hands.

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Discussing moral and mental equipments for the study of the Vedanta Philosophy in the *Modern Review* for May 1932, Swami Nikhilananda says that Vedanta has been supplying food to thoughtful minds wherever it was known and that its influence extended far beyond the land of its birth and development.

Empedocles, Pythagoras and Socrates were imbued with its spirit; the whole philosophy of Plato was deeply coloured by Hindu thought; Aristotle and Plotinus were inspired by Vedantic ideals; and when the progress of science and free inquiry liberated European minds from the dominant beliefs of Christian theology, attention was again directed to the thoughts of the Vedanta. Schopenhauer, Colebrooke, H. H. Wilson, Charles Wilkins, Roer, Cowell, Böhtlingk, Max Müller, Paul Deussen, Garbe, Venis, Davies, Sir William Jones, Thibaut, Jacob, Victor Cousin, Frederic Schlegel and others came under its influence and popularized the lofty ideals of the Vedanta in the Old World and the New. Vedanta is not a speculative philosophy taking pleasure in the formulation of abstract thoughts but it intends to solve the problem of reality, the riddle of life and universe. It pursues knowledge for its own sake and comprehends everything in its broad sweep. By Sādhana Catuṣṭaya, *i.e.*, by being able to discriminate between the real and the unreal, by renunciation, self-restraint and by the desire for liberation, Vedanta philosophy is understood and attained. And the knowledge of reality destroys desire after objects which are unreal and the pleasure of the Vedantin lies in that he knows that by the knowledge of which everything else in the world can be known.

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Dhirendranath Mukhopadhyaya writing on the Krita, Gupta, Śaka and other eras in the June issue of the same journal, remarks that with Dr. Fleet fixing the epoch of the Gupta era at 319–20 A.D. and with M. Sylvain Lévi later on publishing the synchronism of Samudra Gupta with Meghavarna of Ceylon *c.*A.D. 352–79, a great deal of uncertainty about Gupta chronology was removed. But several other references (p. 650) led to a fresh examination of the subject and the results are given in this article which is to be continued. He appears to regard the Gupta to be the same as Vikrama Saṁvat, seeking justification in the chronicles to which he refers. If so, the early Kushans, the Imperial Guptas and the Buddhist Āchāryas must be of the same period. Dr. R. Shama Sastri would begin the Gupta era about a century earlier than Dr. Fleet and according to Dr. Bhandarkar's reasoning in *I.A.* (June 1932), Pushyamitra becomes the inaugurator of the Krita or Vikrama epoch in 57 B.C. Dr.

Bhandarkar's view, however, cannot be reconciled with the accepted date of the Hathigumpa inscription which refers to Pushyamitra and Śātakarni.

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Beginnings of Linga Cult in India is the heading of an article by Atul K. Sur in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, Poona (Vol. XIII, 1931-32), in the course of which the author dismisses the theory till recently held that the Linga Cult was not anterior to the period of the Imperial Guptas. Referring to the proper significance of the Śiśnadeva occurring in the Ṛgveda, he seeks to establish the antiquity of the cult as dating further back from the Paraśurāmeśvara of Guḍimallam, the inscription of Bhīṭa and the Dhamek Stūpa and the Basarha specimen referred to in the Indian Archæological Reports. Further, references to neolithic times are to be found in the Foote Collection of the Madras Museum. It is also interesting to observe that Przyluski derives Linga from an Austro-Asiatic original and regards the cult as un-Āryan, referred to in opprobrious terms in the Ṛgveda and borrowed from the aborigines. He further says that the cult flourished in the Indus Valley in the Ṛgvedic period, fusing with the cult of Śiva in the epic period. Another view is that the Ṛgvedic Śiśnadeva only implies pleasure-seekers. It has to be pointed out, however, that the condemnation of the practice of worshipping Śiśnadeva occurring in the Ṛgveda is the condemnation of aboriginal practices at the time which worshipped the Phallus. What is known as the Linga Cult is really the Fire or Agni Cult, Linga itself being only a symbol. No doubt the Agni worshippers followed it as a symbol, represented by the triangle and the Phallus as the receptacle and the flame respectively, while the Soma Cult people took the Yoni as the Crescent Moon and the Phallus as the Sun above. Reference may also be made to the Triśūla and the Tripuṇḍra of modern times.

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In the *Maharaja's Sanskrit College Magazine*, Mysore, for April 1932, Sri Kṛṣna Brahmatantra Parakāla Samyamīndra Svāmigalavaru's work called Mēgha Māla which is edited and published by Mahāvidvān Karur Seshacharya, is concluded. It is an astrological work of some importance and deserves to be published in book form, particularly as it gives the planetary influences on countries.

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Prof. Kokileswar Shastri considers whether Śaṅkara was a pantheist and answers in the negative in the *Review of Philosophy and Religion* for March 1932. For Śaṅkara has shown that what has no self or nature behind it cannot be put to any use in practical life and that both unity and multiplicity cannot be held to be equally real. In his own theory, the 'One' is the Reality which has a 'nature' of its own which is self sufficient and independent (स्वतःसिद्ध) and which is permanent, eternal and which for ever retains its own uniform character, and is not subject to any change. What is observed is the illustration employed to bring out the relation between the Absolute Reality Brahman and the appearance of nāmarūpa. Every true cause is a centre of power and it is a source of power which is liberated on the occasion of its stimulation by something else. The relation of the underlying principle to the objects is not the same as the relation of one of the objects to the others. And elsewhere Śaṅkara criticizes and refutes the theory of Pantheism. Vrittīkāra says: "A thing cannot be one and also many at the same time. If the 'one' be real, the 'many' must be unreal, and *vice versa*. When an object is changed into various forms and qualities, it loses its oneness, it is now composed of many forms, etc." Since it was one, which is now present in the shape of many forms, its unity has disappeared. Brahman is thus something composite, manifold in its nature. This is the view of divine immanence; there is thus a Samānādhikaraṇya between Brahman and the world. This idea of Vṛittīkāra is correct. Because, these manifested changes, no doubt, constitute the world; but Brahman transcends them all, and hence it is separate, and distinct and distinguished from them. Brahman has got a nature of its own different from the changing objects—names and forms. It has appeared as the world, has assumed the forms of nāmarūpa, remaining unaffected by these, in its own nature. No finite form can adequately manifest It. The world cannot reveal the depth of divine nature. It exists beyond all changes, all transformations. It is not its entire nature that has appeared in the form of the world. In and through all changes, the identity of its essence can be recognized. One cannot, therefore, look upon the nature of Brahman as composed of these changes. Again, its unity does not become composite by the productions of nāmarūpa like a tree composed of its branches, flowers,

etc., but Pantheism reduces finite self also to certain states and activities. The real nature of the finite, empirical self, however, is what underlies those relations and qualities, unaffected by them. Thirdly, it is the essence of the conscious self to be for self, to distinguish itself from all other things. For, how can the finite minds as consciousness, interpenetrate or merge into one another? Yet in the Pantheistic view, the finite self would lose its own svarūpa, merging in God's consciousness. Fourthly, that Ātma is one and many in its nature cannot hold good according to Śaṅkara, for Ātma has no parts like the cow in the illustration.

Hence what constitutes the essential nature of Brahman remains the same, is not changed and affected, under the appearance of the changes of nāmarūpa. As soon as the modifications of nāmarūpa appear, our Avidyā imagines the underlying unity of Brahman as entirely reduced to these nāmarūpas, as if Brahman has become Sāvayava, *i.e.*, composed of parts. But in reality Brahman retains its own unity. Hence, says Śaṅkara, our Buddhi imagines Brahman to be composite through changing nāmarūpas imposed on it. Amongst other arguments of Śaṅkara against Pantheism may be mentioned the following: (*a*) The qualities or relations are accidental, produced by stimulating causes and not therefore permanent; (*b*) No co-ordination is possible between तत् and सर्वम्—Brahman and the World; (*c*) The final emancipation is to get rid of many—pleasure, pain and other changes—to be free from their power, which is impossible if they constitute the nature of self; (*d*) The real nature of a thing is what lies behind the changing states and unaffected by them, and (*e*) 'Knowable objects' being परार्थ, they work in the interest of the self which must be other than these and they cannot, therefore, be held as constituting the nature of self.

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In the *J.R.A.S.* for April 1932, the Uṣas Hymns of the Ṛgveda translated by the late Professor A. A. Macdonell has been published. This work of a scholar who spent a whole life-time in Vedic studies deserves to be made available to the public.

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K. P. Jayaswal further elucidates the Śaka Śatavāhana problems in the March (1932) number of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*. Sandanes and Mambarus of the Periplus are identified with Sunandana of Bhāgavatapurāṇa, Mahendra Śātavāhana respectively, thus abandoning the Śātakarṅi and Nahapana theories. It would thus follow that the Śaka Śālivāhana era of 78 A.D. commemorates the victory of Kuntala Śātakarni *alias* Vikramāditya II over Wema Kadphises at Karur near Bahāwalpur. Again, he also reiterates his belief that Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya of the Imperial Gupta dynasty was preceded by his elder brother Rāma Gupta and that the latter's wife Dhruva Devi was subsequently married by Chandra Gupta however repugnant such a marriage may be to Hindu ideas and he seeks to support his views by literary tradition and epigraphic evidence.

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Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts for April 1932 has a short note on 'A Vaishnava Relief', a marble slab elaborately carved in high relief, probably of Rajaputana origin and belonging to the twelfth century A.D. The material illustrated is that of the mediæval Purānic Brāhmanical mythology, from a Vaiṣṇava point of view, according to Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy. All the three members of the Hindu Trinity stand in niches, four handed and with attributes amongst which the Vedas with Brahma, the Trident with Śiva and the Mace with Viṣṇu are clearly recognizable, representing (he says) Dattātrēya in the three aspects of Viṣṇu. The central panel refers to Mahēśa. The Navagrahas are also represented, as well as the Seven Mothers. The representation of Ananthaśayana resting on the Cosmic Sea is also there. With due respect to the views propounded in the note, it may, however, be observed that Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahma are here represented independently each with his attributes and that the characteristic central panel pointedly brings out the trimūrti aspect of Brahman.

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In the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for March 1931, Giuseppe Tucchi contributes an illuminating and interesting article on Animadversiones Indicæ, dealing with Yōgāchārya Maitrēya and Buddhist Tāntrism. The Siddhas

like Matsyendranātha who tried to harmonize Mahāyāna Buddhism and Hinduism; the ideas that are common to the Siddhas and to the Śaivas as well as to the Buddhist Tantras; Siddha Charpati the guru of Mīnanātha Matsyendranātha; the different Nāgārjunas, the Mādhyamika teacher or the Vedantin Nāgārjuna of South Kōśala and the Siddha or Yōgāchārya Nāgārjuna of Kahara (modern Karad in the Satara district) and lastly the Tibetan Tāntrism with its cult of Dākinīs and Yōginīs are all dealt with. The subject deserves a more elaborate treatment in his hands at an early date.

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Writing on Hindu Culture and Greater India in the *Prabuddha Bharata* for June 1932, Suniti Kumar Chatterji refers to the cultural unification of India proceeding simultaneously with the cultural conquests of Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Indonesia, Afghanistan and Turkestan, etc., as well as to the transformations in China, Korea and Japan owing to contact with spiritual forces from India. This is contrasted with the devastating havoc played upon the cultures of the South American peoples. The value of Indian culture in these foreign lands is also compared with the Christian spirit in Europe which assimilated but did not destroy the ancient cultures in the lands where Christianity was propagated.

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Miniature Painting among the Jains is an article written for the *Jaina Gazette* (April 1932) by Norman Brown, to be elaborated in his forthcoming work on the Kālikāchāryakatha. Dr. Brown regards these miniatures to which he refers as the only known survivals of painting in Western India during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth century miniatures in MSS. from Nepal and Bengal constitute the sum of painting for all India during that period. No traces of outside influence exist. The art in the palm-leaf pictures comes nearer to the fresco painting in the ceiling of the Kailāsanātha temple at Ellora, though it could not have been derived from there. With the introduction of paper in the middle of the fourteenth century, a change was observable and the paintings became more delicate, perhaps influenced by the art of Persia.

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In the *Prabuddha Bharata* for May 1932, discussing why Buddhism lost its hold on India, Edmond Holmes considers that in order to understand Buddha's teaching, it must be affiliated to the spiritual idealism of the Upaniṣads. For Buddha was the practical exponent of that philosophy and while the Upaniṣads taught us what we really or ideally are, the Ātman and Brahman being ideally one, Buddha taught us how to become what we really are. Had he denied the soul, had he meant by Nirvāṇa annihilation, his teaching would not have dominated in India for a single day. It was the monkish interpretation of his teaching, as preserved in the Hīnayāna, which helped to alienate India from Buddhism, coming as it did with the emancipative trend of Buddha's teaching, its revolt against ceremonialism and its exaltation of conduct above ritual.

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The Age of the Human Race in the Light of Geology—by S. Richarz.

Recent Progress in the Field of Old World Pre-history—by G. G. Maccurdy.

The Tell En-Nasbeh Excavations of 1929 : A Preliminary Report—by W. F. Bade.

Ancient Seating Furniture in the Collections of the United States National Museum—by W. Hough.

Aspects of Aboriginal Decorative Art in America based on Specimens in the United States National Museum—by H. W. Krieger.

Elements of the Culture of the Circumpolar Zone—by W. G. Borgoras.

Jesse Walter Fewkes—by J. R. Swanton and F. H. H. Roberts, Jr.

The Narrative of a Southern Cheyenne Woman—by Truman Michelson.

Government of Hyderabad—

Hyderabad Archæological Report for 1928-29.

Government of Mysore—

Mysore Railway Department Report for 1930-31.

Mysore Public Works Department Report for 1930-31.

Krishnarajasagara Works Report for 1930-31.

Mysore Revenue Department Report for 1930-31.

Mysore Forest Department Report for 1930-31.

Census of India, 1931 : Vol. XXV, Mysore, Pt. II—Tables —by M. Venkatesa Iyengar.

Adhyatma Prakasa Press, Bangalore City—

Isavasya Upanishad with Sankara's Commentary (Ṣanskrit) —by Y. Ṣubrạhmanya Sạrma,

Sir Charles Todhunter—

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society: IV Series. Vol. XIV.

British Diplomatic Representatives: 1689–1789.

The Authors—

Sri Krishna Parijata Nataka—by Bellavi Narahari Sastri.

Vicharane—by Devudu.

The Philosophy of Islam—by Khaja Khan.

Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar Bahadur-ravara Kailasa Yatra Prakarana—by Srikanta Sastry.

Government of India—

List of Ancient Monuments Protected under Act VII of 1904 in the Province of Bihar and Orissa—by Moulvi M. H. Kuraishi.

Rock-Paintings and other Antiquities of Pre-historic and Later Times—by M. Ghosh.

Government of Travancore—

Travancore Administration Report for 1930-31.

Karnataka Sangha, Mysore—

Savina Samasye—by Vembar Venkatacharya.

S. M. S. A. Sabha, Tiruchanur—

Dwaita Siddhanta Vichara—by H. Subba Rao.

Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay—

Best Short Stories of India: Vols. I and II—by P. Atkinson.

Neo-Hinduism—by D. V. Athalye.

Rock-Cut Temples around Bombay—by K. H. Vakil.

K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, Esq.—

An Englishman Defends Mother India—by Ernest Wood.

Esoteric Christianity—by Annie Besant.

Theosophy and World Problems—by Annie Besant.

The Great Plan—by Annie Besant.

Brahmavidya—by Annie Besant.

Theosophy and Modern Thought—by C. Jinaraja Dasa.

The Nature of Mysticism—by C. Jinaraja Dasa.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal—

String Figures from Gujarat and Kathiawar—by James Hornell.

Swedenborg Society, London—

Heaven and Hell—by Emanual Swedenborg.

Life of Emanual Swedenborg—by G. Trobridge.

Religious Thought of India—by L. B. De Beaumont.

Mysore University—

Indian Culture through the Ages: Vol. II—by S. V. Venkateswara.

Messrs. P. Varadachary & Co., Madras—

A Primer of Indian Logic—by Kuppuswami Sastri.

Karnataka Sangha, Bangalore—

Bhakti Bhandari Basavannanavaru—by M. R. Srinivasa Murti.

Kern Institute, Leyden—

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology: 1930.

Purchased:—

India's Art—In Colour (Album)—Published by the 'Theatre', Bangalore City.
Sociology: 2 Volumes—by Herbert Spencer.
Bombay Archæological Report for 1901.
Religious Thought and Life in India—by Monier Williams.
Ratnagiri and Savantwadi District Gazetteer.
Chanda District Gazetteer.
Bellary District Gazetteer.
Malabar, Etc. Gazetteer.
List of Sanskrit Manuscripts: 2 Volumes—by Gustav Oppert.
Totemism and Exogamy: 4 Volumes—by Fraser.
Maps of Ancient Kashmir, Etc.
The Jatakamala: English Edition.
The Rise of Bombay—by S. M. Edwards.
Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel: Parts 1 to 3.
Lord Connemara's Tour in India (1891).
Problems of the Future—by S. Laing.
Canada Museum Bulletins.
Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar's Tour—by Wm. Hays.
The Mysterious Universe—by James Jeans.
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Brihat Jataka—by V. Subrahmanya Sastry.
The Kabala of Numbers: Vols. I & II—by Sepharid.

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